Lost but Not Forgotten

The Saga of Hrómundur and Its Manuscript Transmission

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Katarzyna Anna Kapitan

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Foreword

This work would not have been possible without the enormous help and support of many people whom I sincerely want to thank. My journey with *Hrómundar saga* began a decade ago as I developed my doctoral project proposal while still a postgraduate student at the University of Iceland. Some years later, I defended my doctoral thesis at the University of Copenhagen and undertook the ambitious task of preparing a text-critical edition of three different versions of the story for digital and print publication. Little did I know of the obstacles ahead! Working on various projects at different institutions in three countries during the pandemic, the saga of Hrómundur transformed from a labour of love into a labour of academic activism. Embracing the motivational slogan 'be the change you want to see', I chose to make my work openly accessible at the lowest possible cost. I decided against seeking funding to publish my book through a commercial academic publisher, as this route does not support infrastructure for sharing XML-based digital editions and restricts access to publicly funded research by placing it behind paywalls, enforcing embargoes, and setting high retail prices. To ensure accessibility, I decided to make the book open access and forego any royalties from physical book sales. I recognise the implications of my decision, as the volume did not benefit from professional typesetting, indexing, and copy-editing, which certainly led to shortcomings that can potentially hinder some readers in assessing the content and research findings presented here. Nevertheless, I believe it is a trade-off worth making for the sake of accessibility and open access.

As is natural with a work so long in the making, some of the material included here has already been presented elsewhere. Sections 1.1 and 1.2 contain material that appeared in 'When a King of

Norway Became a King of Russia: Transmission and Reception of *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* in Scholarly Networks of Early Modern Scandinavia' (*Scandinavian Studies* 94:3). Section 3.3 contains material published as a book chapter 'Manuscripts Derived from Printed Editions in the Transmission History of *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*' in *Hidden Harmonies*. Material from Chapter 4 has been published as 'Afterlife of a Lost Saga: A Hitherto Unknown Adaptation of the Lost Saga of Hrómundur Gripsson' (*Saga-Book* 45).

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the financial support from the Carlsberg Foundation, which funded my two postdoctoral fellowships (grant numbers CF18-500 and CF20-225). Similarly, my current fellowship at the Voltaire Foundation and the Division of Humanities, University of Oxford allowed me to finalise the project and use my research allowance to support the infrastructure maintenance and development work behind the digital editions.

Most importantly, I want to acknowledge the tremendous generosity of the community of manuscript scholars and digital humanists from which I have immensely benefited. Many colleagues at multiple institutions deserve thanks, as mentioned in the acknowledgements of my thesis. Some close colleagues, however, deserve my special thanks: Philip Lavender, Sheryl McDonald, Seán Vrieland, and N. Kıvılcım Yavuz. As parts of my thesis evolved into a monograph and the newly completed text-critical edition became an integral part of it, I received valuable comments from Shaun Hughes, Natalie Van Deusen, and Beeke Stegmann, to whom I owe my sincere gratitude. I also extend thanks to Emma Huber and Henrike Lähnemann for their support and advice during the final stages of this project. Finally, I am also grateful to many other colleagues who were there for me to exchange ideas, or simply share a glass to celebrate successes and drown sorrows, notably my fellow JRFs at Linacre College. The final result is much improved by the contributions of these individuals, but any remaining errors are solely my responsibility.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends, especially my dearest husband, Böðvar.

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Part I

Manuscript Transmission

Introduction

The story of Hrómundur, son of Gripur (or Greipur) – a legendary hero from Norway, who, according to the account of *Landnámabók*, was one of the forefathers of the first Icelandic settlers – exists in many literary manifestations. These manifestations, or adaptations, were created in different periods of time, in different literary styles and genres, and in different languages. With over nine hundred years of transmission and adaptation history, the medieval story of Hrómundur may well be lost, but it is certainly not forgotten. Its adaptation history spans from the year 1119, when the saga was supposedly recited at the famous wedding feast at Reykhólar, to the year 2020, when a musical adaptation of the story was performed by the Faroese Viking metal band Týr together with the Symphony Orchestra of the Faroe Islands.

Throughout the centuries, the story of Hrómundur has gained a special position in the history of Icelandic literature, intriguing early modern antiquarians, lay scholars, and modern researchers. The prose version of the story is traditionally classified as a *fornaldarsaga* in Icelandic scholarship, or simply as a legendary saga in English scholarship. It appears within this corpus alongside *Völsunga saga*, which has a famous counterpart in the Middle High German epic poem *Nibelungenlied*, and *Hrólfs saga kraka*, which in turn narrates material related to the Anglo-Saxon poems *Beowulf* and *Widsith*.[1] The corpus of *fornaldarsögur*, stories of ancient Nordic heroes, is traditionally associated with Rafn's publication of *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, but as recently demonstrated

1. Gísli Brynjulfsson, 'Old Engelsk og Oldnordisk'; Olson, 'The Relation of the Hrólfs saga kraka and the Bjarkarímur to Beowulf'; Finch, *Vǫlsunga Saga: The Saga of the Volsungs*; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, 'The Origin and Development of the *Fornaldarsögur* as Illustrated by *Völsunga saga*'; Lansing, 'Post-medieval Production, Dissemination and Reception of *Hrólfs saga kraka*'.

by Lavender, its origins draw widely from the scholarly activity of earlier scholars, such as Erik Julius Björner (1696–1750) and Peter Erasmus Müller (1776–1834).[2]

Unlike *Völsunga* or *Hrólfs saga*, *Hrómundar saga Gr(e)ipssonar* (henceforth *HsG*) owes its popularity not to well-known counterparts outside of Scandinavia but to the references within the Old Norse-Icelandic literary corpus.[3] It is known from the famous passage in *Þorgils saga og Hafliða* (*ÞsH*), a part of the *Sturlunga* compil-

2. Lavender, 'The Secret Prehistory of the *Fornaldarsögur*', Björner, *Nordiska kämpa dater*, Müller, *Sagabibliothek*, Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*. For an introduction to the legendary sagas, see Tulinius, 'Sagas of Icelandic Prehistory'; Driscoll, 'A New Edition of Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda, Some Basic Questions'; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, *Handan Hindarfjalls*. There were various attempts to sub-categorise *fornaldarsögur*, for example, Reuschel, *Untersuchungen über Stoff und Stil der Fornaldarsaga*; Hermann Pálsson, 'Fornaldarsögur'; re-define the corpus, for example, Quinn, 'Interrogating Genre in the *Fornaldarsögur*: Round-Table Discussion'; but also to group selected legendary sagas and romances on different criteria, for example, Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*; Tulinius, 'Kynjasögur úr fortíð og framandi löndum'. The term *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, however, still functions as a *terminus technicus* and *HsG* is usually included in this corpus.

3. In the present study, the story of Hrómundur is referenced under the title of *Hrómundar saga Gr(e)ipssonar*, with an 'e' borrowed from Holtsmark, 'Helgediktingen'. This decision was made because all known manuscripts of the seventeenth-century saga call Hrómundur's father Greipur not Gripur, thus the saga is called 'Hrómundar saga Greipssonar'. In recent literature, the saga is known by the title 'Hrómundar saga Gripssonar', and this title was used in the popular edition of the saga by Guðni Jónsson (Guðni Jónsson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*). It is clear from the material available to us today that the name of our hero was not fixed. If we are ready to connect the name of our hero with the Norwegian ancestor of the first settlers, we should take into account, for example, the evidence of *Landnámabók* which mentions 'Hrómundur Gripsson' (see Finnur Jónsson, *Landnámabók*, 6, 131). Also, all editions of *Þorgils saga og Hafliða* (*ÞsH*), which contains one of the oldest references to Hrómundur, agree on 'Gripsson', but none of the medieval manuscripts of *ÞsH* actually preserves the passage in which *HsG* is mentioned. *Króksfjarðarbók* (AM 122 a fol.) and *Reykjarfjarðarbók* (AM 122 b fol.) are both defective in this part (see Brown, *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða*, liii). The text of *ÞsH* is edited from the post-medieval manuscripts, some of which preserve the name 'Greipur' (e.g. BL Add. 11127, f. 7v 'Greypss*onar*'), others 'Gripur' (e.g. AM 114 fol., f. 9r: 'Grÿpsijnie') (see Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga Including The Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thordsson and Other Works*, 19; Kålund, *Sturlunga Saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfyldt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*, 22). The manuscripts of the *rímur*, with the exception of Acc. 22, however, agree that the name of Hrómundur's father was 'Gripur' not 'Greipur'. The title of the *rímur*, *Griplur*, speaks in favour of the name being 'Gripur'.

ation,[4] which mentions the story of Hrómundur in its account of the events that took place in 1119. According to *ÞsH*, some story about Hrómundur was recited to entertain guests attending a wedding feast in Reykhólar in the north-western part of Iceland:

> Hrólfr af Skálmarnesi sagði sǫgu frá Hrǫ[n]g[vi]ði víkingi ok frá Óláfi liðmannakonungi ok haugbroti Þráins berserks ok Hrómundi Gripssyni, ok margar vísur með. En þessarri sǫgu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisǫgur skemtiligastar. Ok þó kunnu menn at telja ættir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar. Þessa sǫgu hafði Hrólfr sjálfr samansetta.[5]
>
> Hrólfur from Skálmarnes told a saga about Hröngviður the viking and about Ólafur liðmannakonungur and the mound-breaking of Þráinn the berserk and Hrómundur Gripsson, with many verses in it. This story was used to entertain King Sverrir and he considered such lying sagas the most amusing. And even though men can trace their genealogies to Hrómundur Gripsson. This saga was composed by Hrólfur himself.[6]

Because of its assumed medieval origins, *HsG* and related materials received a remarkable amount of scholarly attention and earned a unique position in the history of Icelandic literature as

4. Kålund, *Sturlunga Saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfyldt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*; Brown, *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða*; Halldór Hermannsson, *The Saga of Thorgils and Haflidi*.

5. Brown, *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða*, 17–18. Since the two oldest manuscripts of *Sturlunga saga*, AM 122 a fol. and AM 122 b fol., are both defective in this part of the text, this passage has been reconstructed from other manuscripts derived from the two. My examination of the texts appearing closest to the top of Kålund's stemma (Kålund, 'Om håndskrifter af Sturlunga saga og dennes enkelte bestanddele', 283) reveals that only the manuscripts derived from AM 122 b fol. contain the final sentence of this passage, in which Hrólfur is identified as the saga's author (BL Add. 11127, f. 7v and AM 440 4to, 12v); the manuscripts derived from AM 122 a fol. do not contain this sentence (AM 114 fol., f. 9r and AM 115 fol., f. 12r). This was already indicated in the 1817 edition (see Bjarni Þorsteinsson et al., *Sturlúnga-Saga Edr Islendínga-saga Hin Mikla*, I:23), where the sentence appears as an addition in the variant apparatus, cf. Guðbrandur Vigfússon, *Sturlunga saga Including The Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thordsson and Other Works*, I:19; Kålund, *Sturlunga Saga efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfyldt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók*, I:22; Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, *Sturlunga saga eða Íslendinga sagan mikla*, I:32.

6. Cf. Foote, 'Sagnaskemtan: Reykhólar 1119', 226.

the oldest *fornaldarsaga* to be mentioned by name.[7] It even has an entry in major reference works on medieval literature and culture, such as *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (1993) and *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (1982–89), in which there are no references to other post-medieval *rímur*-based legendary sagas. In his history of Icelandic literature, Finnur Jónsson writes about *HsG*: 'Alt i alt hører denne saga til de interessanteste og mest betydende' (All in all, this saga belongs to the most interesting and the most important ones).[8] Since then, *HsG* has been frequently referenced in the discussion of the origins of the legendary sagas, oral and written forms of the sagas' transmission, and indirectly in the discussion of the credibility of the legendary sagas,[9] making it probably the best-known example of lost Old Norse-Icelandic sagas.[10]

**HsG* is considered lost because it is generally believed to have existed in the Middle Ages, but no medieval account of the prose saga has survived.[11] In general, lost literature can be understood

7. Stefán Einarsson, *A History of Icelandic Literature*, 157–158; Stefán Einarsson, *Íslensk bókmenntasaga 874-1960*, 195–196.

8. Finnur Jónsson, *Den islandske Litteraturs Historie, tilligemed den oldnordiske*, 334. From here onwards, all translations from Icelandic, Danish, German, and Latin are my own unless otherwise specified. In the case of this citation, it is probably wroth noting, that Finnur Jónsson, in his *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, revised his opinion regarding *HsG* by omitting the 'mest betydende' part of the statement; see Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, II:802–803.

9. Heusler, *Die Anfänge der isländischen Saga*; Liestøl, 'Til spørsmålet om dei eldste islendske danskvæde'; Einar Ól. Sveinsson, 'Ritdómur um Þorgils sögu ok Hafliða, útg. Ursula Brown'; Jón Helgason, 'Norges og Islands digtning'; Foote, 'Sagnaskemtan: Reykhólar 1119'; Sverrir Tómasson, *Formálar íslenskra sagnaritara á miðöldum: Rannsókn bókmenntahefðar*; Tulinius, 'Kynjasögur úr fortíð og framandi löndum'; Tulinius, 'Sagas of Icelandic Prehistory'; Úlfar Bragason, '*Ok þó kunna menn at telja ættir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar*: Sagnaskemmtun á Reykhólum og Sturlunguhöfundur'; Úlfar Bragason, 'Sagas of Contemporary History (Sturlunga Saga): Texts and Research'; O'Connor, 'History or Fiction? Truth-claims and Defensive Narrators in Icelandic Romance-Sagas'; O'Connor, 'Truth and Lies in the *fornaldarsögur*. The Prologue to *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*'.

10. Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*, 185; Driscoll, 'A New Edition of Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda, Some Basic Questions', 5.

11. **HsG* is used to distinguish the lost medieval story from its post-medieval adaptations, and the story of Hrómundur in more general terms, referred to as *HsG*.

broadly as literature which might never have had a written existence and circulated only in oral form, or, in a more narrow sense, as written literature which did not survive in manuscript form.[12] **HsG* is by no means a unique example of a lost medieval work. Due to external forces, among them library fires and widespread recycling of writing support, many medieval manuscripts are lost, and with them, a fair amount of medieval stories are lost beyond retrieval. Recent estimates focusing on the extent of loss of medieval narrative fiction suggest that over 20% of chivalric and heroic narratives in Old Norse-Icelandic got lost over the centuries.[13] Mitchell, in his *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*, lists thirteen probable lost legendary sagas, and *HsG* is one of them.[14]

It is impossible to prove whether **HsG* had a written manifestation in the Middle Ages, but there are multiple references to Hrómundur Gr(e)ipsson in other medieval works, including, *Landnámabók*, *Flóamanna saga*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Hversu Noregur byggðist* (*Frá Fornjóti og hans ættmönnum*), and *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*. Therefore, we can safely assume that a story, or an 'immanent saga', about the events narrated in *HsG* existed already in the Middle Ages.[15]

Similar material to that of *HsG* is utilised in the Scandinavian ballads, in Danish *Rigen Rambolt og Aller hin stærke*, *Ungen Ranild*[16]

12. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*; Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders'.

13. Kestemont et al., 'Forgotten Books: The Application of Unseen Species Models to the Survival of Culture'.

14. Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*, 185. The subject of lost sagas has been gaining scholarly interest in recent years. Of the sagas listed by Mitchell, four sagas have received scholarly attention: *Ásmundar saga Flagðagæfu* (Jesch, 'Ásmundar Saga Flagðagæfu'); *Úlfhams saga* (Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, *Úlfhams saga*); *Huldar saga* (Driscoll, 'Pleasure and Pastime: The Manuscripts of Guðbrandur Sturlaugsson á Hvítadal'); and *Illuga saga eldhússgóða* (Lavender, '*Illuga saga* as *fornaldarsaga*, *riddarasaga* and *Íslendingasaga*: Generic Fluidity in the Late Development of Sagas and *rímur*').

15. For immanent sagas, see Clover, 'The Long Prose Form', 23–24; Butler, 'The Mysterious Death of Þorsteinn Kuggason: Authorial Imagination and Saga Narrative'.

16. Grundtvig, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, 358–374.

and *Ramund*,[17] Norwegian *Ramund den unge*,[18] and Swedish *Ramunder*.[19] It is possible that the source of these ballads lies in the lost **HsG*, referred to in *ÞsH*.[20] The most recent adaptation of the story can be found in a song *Ramund hin unge* released on the album *Eric the Red* in 2003 by the Faroese Viking metal band Týr.[21] The song is based on the Danish ballad *Ramund* and is sung in the so-called 'gøtudanskt', Danish pronounced with a thick Faroese accent.[22]

The Icelandic tradition of the story of Hrómundur includes a medieval metric manifestation of the story called *Griplur*, or *Hrómundar rímur Gripssonar*,[23] a seventeenth-century prose manifestation of the story called *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* (*17HsG*),[24] a post-medieval metric adaptation called *Hrómundar kvæði Gripssonar*,[25] a nineteenth-century prose manifestation also called *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* (*19HsG*),[26] and a nineteenth-century versification called *Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar*, or *Rímur af Hrómundi Greipssyni*.[27] Of these, only *Griplur* and the seventeenth-century saga have been previously edited. The *rímur* of Hrómundur have been edited twice by Finnur Jónsson in 1896

17. Nyerup and Rahbek, *Udvalgte danske Viser fra Middelalderen, efter A. S. Vedels og P. Syvs trykte Udgaver og efter haandskrevne Samlinger*, 334–340.

18. Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser*, 189–195.

19. Arwidsson, *Svenska fornsånger, en samling af kämpavisor, folk-visor, lekar och dansar, samt barn- och vall-sånger*, 114–120.

20. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda (Continued)'; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 354–363; Brown, *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða*; Foote, 'Sagnaskemtan: Reykhólar 1119'.

21. Kapitan, 'From Oral Prosimetrum to Viking Metal'.

22. Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen, 'Føroyskt - Færøsk', 44.

23. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*; Finnur Jónsson, *Fernir forníslenskir rímnaflokkar*; Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*; Simek and Hermann Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur, die mittelalterliche Literatur Norwegens und Islands*, 130; Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

24. Simek and Hermann Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur, die mittelalterliche Literatur Norwegens und Islands*, 196.

25. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda', 540–544; Jón Helgason, *Gamall kveðskapur*, 173–179.

26. Kapitan, 'Afterlife of a Lost Saga: A Hitherto Unknown Adaptation of the Lost Saga of Hrómundur Gripsson'.

27. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, I:262.

and 1905–22.[28] Meanwhile, *17HsG* appeared in multiple editions and translations.

The earliest edition of *17HsG* appeared in 1737, when Erik Julius Björner (1696—1750), a Swedish scholar and philologist,[29] included it in his *Nordiska kämpa dater*.[30] This edition presents the Icelandic text of Papp. fol. nr 67, held in the Royal Library (Kungliga biblioteket) in Stockholm (P67) accompanied by Latin and Swedish translations.[31] There is no variant apparatus or critical commentary and editorial changes are very limited. The noteworthy exception is the division of the saga into ten chapters, even though the text of *17HsG* in P67 is divided into five chapters.

Almost a hundred years later, in 1829–30, Carl Christian Rafn (1795–1864), a Danish philologist,[32] published his collection of legendary sagas called *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, in which *17HsG* appears in the second volume. The main text of the edition follows AM 587 b 4to (A587), held today in the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum) in Reykjavík. The text is accompanied by a very sparse variant apparatus including the readings from Björner's edition and AM 345 4to (A345), another manuscript held in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar. In his brief introduction, Rafn discusses the relationships between witnesses of the saga known to him. It is worth mentioning that Rafn did not know about AM 601 b 4to (A601), also held in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, which preserves the best text of the saga and which serves as the basis for my edition of *17HsG*.

The text of Rafn's edition served as the basis for all the popular editions. These include the 1886–91 edition by Valdimar Ásmundarson (1852–1902),[33] the 1943–44 edition by Bjarni

28. Finnur Jónsson, *Fernir fornislenskir rímnaflokkar*; Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*.
29. Hofberg, *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon*, I:103.
30. Björner, *Nordiska kämpa dater*.
31. For a detailed discussion of Björner's edition, see Busch, 'Grossmachtstatus und Sagainterpretation – die schwedischen Vorzeitsagaeditionen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts'. See also Arwidsson, *Förteckning öfver Kongl. Bibliothekets i Stockholm Isländska Handskrifter*, 92.
32. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XIII:351.
33. Valdimar Ásmundarson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, II:325–336.

Vilhjálmsson (1915–1987) and Guðni Jónsson (1901–1974),[34] and the 1954–59 edition by Guðni Jónsson alone.[35] All of them standardise the orthography and punctuation of the text but do not introduce any changes to Rafn's text. The notable exception is the 1943–44 edition, where the title changed from *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* and *Saga af Hrómundi Greipssyni* to *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar*, which influenced how the saga is referred to in later scholarship. In Guðni Jónsson's edition from 1954–59, the subsequent chapters of the saga received short titles reflecting their contents.[36] Guðni Jónsson's edition was later digitised for *Netútgáfan* and published online in 2000.[37]

The earliest published translations of the saga are Björner's (1737) Latin and Swedish translations, which appeared alongside the Icelandic text.[38] Much later, the saga was translated into Danish by Rafn and published in 1821–26, and again in 1829–30 with minor revisions.[39] The earliest English translation was published in 1921 by Kershaw in her overview *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*. Since then, multiple English translations, of varied value, have appeared, as well as recent translations into German, Norwegian and Spanish.[40]

Meanwhile, little effort has been put in recent scholarship to examine the textual transmission of the saga in extant manuscripts or

34. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, II:271–286.

35. Guðni Jónsson, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, II:405–422.

36. Björner's edition was the first one to introduce the chapter headings, but they were provided only for the Swedish and Latin translations, not for the Icelandic text.

37. Currently, this text is available on *Snerpa*, archived on 4/04/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20230404022020/https://www.snerpa.is/net/forn/hrom.htm.

38. Björner's publication is roughly contemporary with the Swedish translations preserved in Papp. fol. nr 98 and in Säfstaholmssamlingen I Papp. 6.

39. *17HsG* is one of eight *fornaldarsögur* which until recently used to exist in Danish exclusively in Rafn's translations (Lassen, 'The *fornaldarsögur* in Danish Translation: From Carl Christian Rafn to the Present', 347–349). A new Danish translation by Rolf Stavnem has recently appeared as a part of the *Oldtidssagaerne* collection.

40. A complete list of translations is available in the *Stories for all time* catalogue, archived on 8/06/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20230608094645/https://fasnl.net/bibliography/21.

to prepare a modern critical edition.[41] This is despite the fact that *17HsG* became part of the curriculum in Icelandic language and literature, *Íslenska 303*, in one of the secondary schools in Reykjavík, where it was chosen as representative of the corpus of *fornaldarsögur*.[42] While this fate is not uncommon for many legendary sagas, the state of research has been criticised by Jürg Glauser and Stephen Tranter already some thirty years ago. They observed that the state of scholarship in Old Norse-Icelandic studies regarding the transmission history of, for example, *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur* is below desirable:

> [I]t must seem strange to note that such important basic research as editions of texts, examinations of transmission, genre delineations, analyses of production and reception and presentations of the texts within their social, historical and cultural contexts is, where the important groups of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century texts are concerned, more or less completely lacking.[43]

Glauser and Tranter have additionally pointed out that the most urgent priority is for critical editions of, among other sagas, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Áns saga bogsveigis*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, and our favourite, *HsG*.

It is noteworthy that while there has been a number of impressive studies into the transmission and reception of some of the *fornaldarsögur*,[44] there has been far less activity on the editorial arena.

41. It can be noted that Jón Helgason was clearly interested in the saga and the *rímur* and was collecting variants from various witnesses, probably in order to determine on which *rímur* manuscript the prose saga was based. I did not have a chance to study Jón Helgason's notes in detail, but it seems clear to me that he had to be working on *HsG* at some point in the 1970s, as there is a note dated to 6 June 1976 from the director of the manuscript department of Landsbókasafn, Grímur M. Helgason (1927–1989), that accompany the photographs of Lbs 1370 8vo, one of the manuscripts of *Griplur*.

42. The text of *HsG* assigned at Fjölbrautaskólinn við Ármúla use to be available on the webpage http://www4.fa.is/deildir/Islenska/303/Hromundarsaga.html (last accessed 28/08/2018), but it is currently unavailable online (7/01/2024).

43. Glauser and Tranter, 'Romances, Rímur, Chapbooks. Problems of Popular Literature in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavia', 38.

44. There have been studies into some of the sagas mentioned on Glauser and Tranter's list, among them *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra* (Jóhannes Bjarni Sigtryggsson, '*Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra* (a- og b-gerð)'), *Áns saga bogsveigis* (Hughes, 'The

Of the sagas mentioned by Glauser and Tranter, to date only *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* has been the subject of a detailed study of its transmission, culminating in a published edition.[45]

This study responds to these calls for new research on the aforementioned sagas by picking up the exciting story of Hrómundur, son of Greipur (Gripur), which has entertained audiences for nearly a millennium. This study not only provides unique insights into the transmission, reception, and adaptation of the story of Hrómundur in prose but also makes its all known prose manifestations in Icelandic available to the scholarly audience for the first time in a text-critical edition accompanied by an interactive digital representation. The edition is based on research involving all known and publicly available manuscripts preserving the saga, as well as drawing on extensive research into the *rímur* tradition. Here, I present the saga of Hrómundur at three stages of its development:

Literary Antecedents of *Áns saga bogsveigis*'; Hughes, '*Áns saga Bogsveigis*: The Saga of Án Bow-Bender'), *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (Lethbridge, 'The Place of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* in Eggertsbók, a Late Medieval Icelandic Saga-book'). Sagas which do not appear explicitly on the list have also been the subject of study, for example, *Hrólfs saga kraka* (Lansing, 'Post-medieval Production, Dissemination and Reception of *Hrólfs saga kraka*'), *Sörla saga sterka* (Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga'), and *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (Love, *The Reception of* Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks *from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century*). Glauser himself was responsible for a substantial contribution to the change in the state of the art on the transmission history of Scandinavian literature, with the research project *Transmission in den skandinavischen Literaturen der Frühen Neuzeit*, which resulted in a number of publications by scholars either affiliated or influenced by the project: Sabel and Glauser, *Text und Zeit: Wiederholung, Variante und Serie als Konstituenten literarischer Transmission*; A. K. Richter, *Transmissionsgeschichten: Untersuchungen zur dänischen und schwedischen Erzählprosa in der frühen Neuzeit*; Glauser and Richter, *Text - Reihe - Transmission, Unfestigkeit als Phänomen skandinavischer Erzählprosa 1500-1800*; Glauser and Kramarz-Bein, *Rittersagas: Übersetzung, Überlieferung, Transmission*; Seidel, *Textvarianz und Textstabilität: Studien zur Transmission der Ívens saga, Erex saga und Parcevals saga*. Among smaller case studies and essays, we can mention some of the studies in Ármann Jakobsson, Lassen and Ney, *Fornaldarsagornas struktur och ideologi*; Ney, Ármann Jakobsson and Lassen, *Fornaldarsagaerne, myter og virkelighed*; Lassen, Ney and Ármann Jakobsson, *The Legendary Sagas: Origins and Development*; and Driscoll et al., *The Legendary Legacy*.

45. Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*'; Lavender, Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*: The Saga of Illugi, Gríður's Foster-son*; Lavender, *Long Lives of Short Sagas: The Irrepressibility of Narrative and the Case of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

the seventeenth-century saga (*17HsG*), the eighteenth-century version of the same saga (*18HsG*), and the nineteenth-century saga (*19HsG*).[46]

Plot summary

HsG, as we know it from modern editions of *17HsG* and to a large extent also from *Griplur*, tells the story of its eponymous hero, who gains enormous fame thanks to his extraordinary bravery and exceptional achievements. The saga begins with the introduction of some of the main characters, starting with King Ólafur and his retainers, Kári and Örnúlfur. Then, Greipur and his wife, Gunnlöð, are introduced, along with their nine sons, including Hrómundur who is the most exceptional of them all. Lastly, Ólafur's advisors, the evil brothers Vóli and Bildur, are mentioned.

One day, King Ólafur sets out on a raiding trip, during which a great sea battle takes place. His men confront a horde of *blámenn*, led by Hröngviður, who sailed on a beautifully decorated ship and carried his indispensable sword called Brynþvari. As a result of this encounter, both Kári and Örnúlfur die at Hröngviður's hand, and Hrómundur decides to avenge them. He kills Hröngviður and many of his men with a wooden club, after which his opponents surrender. After the battle, Hrómundur finds Helgi, Hröngviður's brother, on one of the ships and not only spares his life but also ensures he is healed, despite Helgi's promise to avenge his brother's death at the earliest convenience.

The next adventure involves Ólafur's troops raiding one of the islands of Suðureyjar, where a man named Máni resides (possibly the Isle of Man, as *19HsG* suggests). They learn from him about Þráinn the berserk, the former king of Valland, who is buried in a mound along with his great treasures. They receive directions on how to find Þráinn's burial mound and set out on a quest to steal his treasure. Upon their arrival, Hrómundur is the only one among

46. For a study of the relationships among all known manifestations of the story, including the *rímur* tradition, see Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'. For a study of the relationships among all known witnesses of the *rímur*, see Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

Ólafur's men who dares to enter the burial mound and confront the mound-dweller. Their encounter culminates in Hrómundur slaying Þráinn, burning his body, and Ólafur's men taking all the great treasures, of which Hrómundur keeps only a ring, a necklace, and a sword named Mistilteinn.

Afterwards, Ólafur and his men return home and Hrómundur becomes very popular due to his bravery. He generously gives a ring to a man named Hrókur, but out of jealousy, Vóli kills Hrókur and steals his ring (note that in *Griplur* and *19HsG*, Hrókur is a dog who is killed by the evil brothers). Here, Ólafur's sisters, Svanhvít and Dagný, are introduced. Hrómundur and Svanhvít see each other frequently, while the evil brothers Vóli and Bildur plot against Hrómundur. Hrómundur falls out of the king's favour and is forced to flee the kingdom and stays with his father. Meanwhile, two Swedish kings, both called Halldingur (or Haddingur in *Griplur*), challenge Ólafur to a battle on the frozen lake Vænir. Now, Ólafur wants Hrómundur to join his army, but Hrómundur rejects the invitation. Eventually, Svanhvít convinces him to go and gives him a shield that is supposed to protect him.

When Hrómundur and his brothers arrive at the battlefield, Bildur has already been killed, while Vóli's whereabouts are unknown. The following morning, Hrómundur refuses to go to the battle because he had a bad dream. His brothers, however, decide to go anyway. Helgi, Hröngviður's brother, is in the battle fighting on the Swedish side. He is accompanied by his shape-shifting mistress, Kára (or Lára in Rafn's edition), who flies over the battlefield in the shape of a swan, uttering magic howls that render men defenceless. Thanks to her help, Helgi kills all of Hrómundur's brothers. When Hrómundur learns of his brothers' deaths, he joins the battle and fights Helgi. During their fierce combat, Helgi unintentionally kills Kára, and without her magical support, Hrómundur succeeds in killing him. Afterwards, suddenly, Vóli emerges on the battlefield and confronts Hrómundur, who manages to kill Vóli, but during the fight loses his sword Mistilteinn in the lake. He is badly wounded and regrets his losses, blaming himself for not heeding Svanhvít's advice.

Meanwhile, Svanhvít and her sister are somehow summoned to come and sew Hrómundur's wounds and they ask Hagall and

his wife to take care of Hrómundur. One day, Hagall finds Hrómundur's sword inside a fish he catches and returns it to Hrómundur. Soon after, Halldingur finds out from his advisor, Blindur, that Hrómundur is responsible for Helgi's death and is hiding in his kingdom. The king orders Blindur to find Hrómundur, but the task proves quite difficult due to Hagall and his wife's efforts to hide Hrómundur.

The following winter, Blindur experiences a series of prophetic dreams. He shares these dreams with King Halldingur, asking him to interpret their meaning. Despite their obvious ominous nature, the king misinterprets all of them, except the final dream foreseeing the death of both Blindur and Halldingur. Meanwhile, Hrómundur fully recovers at Hagall's place, and when Ólafur and his army raid Sweden, Hrómundur joins them. They storm the stronghold of King Halldingur, and Hrómundur kills him in revenge for his brothers' deaths. Afterwards, Blindur is hanged, thus fulfilling his prophetic dreams. Hrómundur marries Svanhvít, and they live happily ever after.

How closely the lost medieval **HsG* resembled the story as we know it today is impossible to tell. According to *Þorgils saga og Hafliða* (*ÞsH*), as quoted above, one of the stories told at the wedding feast in 1119 was about Hröngviður, King Ólafur, breaking into Þráinn's burial mound, and Hrómundur Gr(e)ipsson, so it dealt with some characters and events known from the saga, as known from modern editions. As seen in the brief summary of *17HsG* presented above, some episodes are not mentioned in *ÞsH*. Among these, for example, are the episodes with Helgi hinn frækni and Blindur's dreams, which might be later additions.[47] At the same time, it is difficult to expect such a brief mention of the story to be exhaustive in regard to the main episodes of the saga. Nevertheless, both Helgi and his mistress Kára, as well as Blindur and his prophetic dreams were part of the story of Hrómundur already in the second half of the fourteenth century when the *rímur* of Hró-

47. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*, 185; Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda (Continued)', 396–397; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 354; Holtsmark, 'Helgediktingen', 314–318; Jesch, 'Hrómundr Gripsson Revisited', 96–97.

mundur, *Griplur*, were composed.[48] It is this set of *rímur* that served as a basis for *17HsG* and, to a certain extent, *19HsG*.[49]

Manuscripts

The prose adaptations of *Hrómundar saga* are preserved in forty manuscripts, including translations and excerpts. Of these, thirty-five preserve the Icelandic text, but one of these manuscripts is in a private collection and was not available for examination. Therefore, this study is based on thirty-four manuscripts which are held in public repositories.[50]

All the manuscripts are written on paper and date from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Most of them are held in Icelandic repositories: in the National and University Library of Iceland (Landsbókasafn Íslands) in Reykjavík (18), the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum) in Reykjavík (5), and the archives of Akureyri and Eyjafjarðarsýsla (Héraðsskjalasafn Akureyrarbæjar og Eyjafjarðarsýslu) in Akureyri (1). The remaining ten manuscripts are held outside Iceland: in the British Library in London, UK (4), the Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz) in Berlin, Germany (2), the Royal Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek) in Copenhagen, Denmark (2), the Arnamagnæan Institute (Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling) in Copenhagen, Denmark (1), and the National Library of Sweden (Kungliga biblioteket) in Stockholm (1). The complete list of manuscripts is as follows:

- British Library, London
  - BL Add. 4859 (B4859)
  - BL Add. 4875 (B4875)

48. Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

49. Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.

50. Thanks to the financial support from the Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics, University of Copenhagen, Julie von Müllen Fond and Niels Bohr Fondet awarded by Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Svend Grundtvigs og Axel Olriks legat, Letterstedtska Föreningen, I was able to personally examine all manuscripts. I am extremely grateful to all the foundations and organisations that supported my research.

  - BL Add. 11108 (B11108)
  - BL Add. 11109 (B11109)
- Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling, Copenhagen
  - Acc. 61 (Acc61)
- Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen
  - Kall 614 4to (K614)
  - Thott 1768 4to (T1768)
- Héraðsskjalasafn Akureyrarbæjar og Eyjafjarðarsýslu, Akureyri
  - G 52/1 (G52)
- Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm
  - Papp. fol. nr 67 (P67)
- Landsbókasafn Íslands, Reykjavík
  - Lbs 222 fol. (L222)
  - Lbs 381 fol. (L381)
  - Lbs 633 fol. (L633)
  - Lbs 679 4to (L679)
  - Lbs 840 4to (L840)
  - Lbs 1217 4to (L1217)
  - Lbs 1572 4to (L1572)
  - Lbs 1767 4to (L1767)
  - Lbs 2316 4to (L2316)
  - Lbs 2943 4to (L2943)
  - Lbs 3164 4to (L3164)
  - Lbs 4825 4to (L4825)
  - Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404)
  - Lbs 3795 8vo (L3795)
  - Lbs 4460 8vo (L4460)
  - ÍB 43 fol. (I43)
  - JS 634 4to (J634)
  - JS 102 8vo (J102)
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
  - Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27)
  - Ms Germ qu. 936 (M936)
- Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík
  - AM 193 e fol. (A193)
  - AM 395 fol. (A395)
  - AM 345 4to (A345)

- AM 587 b 4to (A587)
- AM 601 b 4to (A601)

Four of these manuscripts preserve the younger saga (*19HsG*) and are discussed in Chapter 4. The remaining thirty manuscripts contain the seventeenth-century saga (*17HsG*), which are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Two of these thirty, however, preserve a version of the story, which due to extensive changes in the text, has been edited here separately, as the eighteenth-century version (*18HsG*). They are discussed in Section 3.2.

Chapter 1

Searching for the saga of Hrómundur

1.1 Historical background

Because of its medieval origins and the historical relevance of Hrómundur as a forefather of the first settlers of Iceland, *Hrómundar saga* (*HsG*) has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention over the past four centuries. The composition of the prose saga itself was probably a result of the antiquarian interest in the story recited at the wedding feast in 1119 among the learned men of Scandinavia, such as Þormóður Torfason (1636–1719) (Torfæus), a prolific historiographer of the kingdom of Denmark-Norway, and Árni Magnússon, the famous book collector and professor of Philosophy and Danish Antiquities at the University of Copenhagen.[1] The oldest extant version of the story about Hrómundur in prose, the seventeenth-century saga (*17HsG*), was based on the medieval *rímur* and composed in the second half of the seventeenth century. The man responsible for this prose composition was Jón Eggertsson (ca. 1643—1689), an Icelandic scribe, poet, and book collector for the Swedish Society of Antiquities, *Antikvitetskollegium*.[2]

At the time when the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway and the Kingdom of Sweden were engaged in a series of bloody wars over

1. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:62–63, V:190–191.

2. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:85–87; Bjarni Einarsson, *Munnmælasögur 17. aldar*, xlii; Jón Helgason, *Gamall kveðskapur*, 176; Jón Helgason, 'Athugarnir Árna Magnússonar um fornsögur', 41; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften.*

the *dominium maris baltici*,[3] the historical and antiquarian interest in Old Norse-Icelandic literature in Scandinavia begun to grow. Until the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Danish scholars re-discovered the Icelandic sources, Old Norse-Icelandic literature was largely forgotten in Denmark and arguably also neglected in Iceland. As Margrét Eggertsdóttir recently summarised, the impulse for the rise of Icelandic interest in their heritage came from Denmark:

> At that time Icelanders became increasingly interested in their own history and cultural inheritance, not least their old manuscripts. Their interest may be traced to the influence of Danish scholars who, touched by the spirit of humanism, had come to understand the value of Icelandic vellums as sources, and the need to have these texts transcribed and published, complete with translations and commentaries.[4]

In Denmark, this period is characterised by the intensified search for historical sources for the history of Denmark. As Ellen Jørgensen concluded, the seventeenth century was:

> en Periode der karakteriseres ved Stofindsamling i stor Stil, ved dristige nye Anslag og en Kritik, der voxer frem af de Modsigelser, der aabenbarer sig i Kildematerialet. Det 17. Aarhundrede er en Landnamstid for historisk Forskning ligesom for Filosofi og Naturvidenskab. […] Stofindsamlingen gjaldt i første Række de litterære Kilder til Danmarks Historie. […] Blandt de litterære Kilder var der een Gruppe, som Historikerne satte stort Haab til - de islandske Skrifter, der maatte give sikre og sande Efterretninger om vor ældre Historie.[5]
>
> (a period which is characterised by the collection of materials in a grand style, with bold new approaches and a criticism that grows out of the contradictions that reveal themselves in the source material. The seventeenth century is a land taking period for historical research, as well as for philosophy and

3. Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492–1772*; Lisk, *The Struggle for Supremacy in the Baltic 1600–1725*.

4. Margrét Eggertsdóttir, *Icelandic Baroque: Poetic Art and Erudition in the Works of Hallgrímur Pétursson*, 68.

5. E. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*, 117–118.

> natural science. The collection of material included, first and foremost, the literary sources for Denmark's history. Among the literary sources, there was one group, regarding which historians had great hope – the Icelandic writings, which were expected to provide secure and true information concerning our [Danish] older history.)

It is not my aim here to provide an exhaustive overview of the history of Danish historiography, or of the role Old Norse-Icelandic literature played in this period, nor of the competition between Sweden and Denmark for these sources, as detailed overviews already exist.[6] It is, however, necessary to show the general socio-political background of the creation of *17HsG*.

When *Hrómundar saga* appeared in Denmark in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Old Norse-Icelandic sources had been on the Danish historiographical and antiquarian radar for almost a century. The first known official letter concerning the collection of antiquarian materials in Iceland was issued on 17 April 1596 by Christian IV (1577–1648), king of Denmark and Norway between 1588 and 1648. In this letter, the king encourages Icelanders to make available to Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648) various materials that may be relevant for Niels Krag's (1550–1602) work as the royal historiographer.[7] After that point many Danish scholars looked to Iceland in their searches for sources, but not many could make good use of them, as knowledge of the Old Norse-Icelandic language among Danes was limited.

This lack of general knowledge of the language led to the establishment of the position of royal translator, introduced by Frederik III (1609–1670), the king of Denmark and Norway from 1648 until 1670. The monarch, who instituted absolute monarchy in Denmark-Norway in 1660, became a great patron of research

6. E. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*; Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Literary Feud between Denmark and Sweden in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century and the Development of Danish Historical Scholarship'; Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Saxo, Snorre og den nationale historieforskning i 1600-tallet'; Gottskálk Jensson, '*Hypothesis Islandica*, or Concerning the Initially Supportive but Ultimately Subversive Impact of the Rediscovery of Medieval Icelandic Literature on the Evaluation of Saxo Grammaticus as a Historical Authority during the Heyday of Danish Antiquarianism'; Lavender, *Long Lives of Short Sagas: The Irrepressibility of Narrative and the Case of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

7. Laursen, *Kancelliets Brevbøger vedrørende Danmarks indre forhold i uddrag*, 616.

into the past of these two countries. This research was supposed to confirm that both Denmark and Norway not only had a splendid past but also, more importantly, that they were ancient hereditary monarchies.[8] Frederik III appointed an Icelander, Þórarinn Eiríksson (d. 1659), as the royal translator of Nordic antiquities, 'kongelig translatør af nordiske antikviteter',[9] and sent him to Iceland in 1656 to collect sources. Þórarinn's service was not especially fruitful in translations or directly in new acquisitions, since he died soon after his appointment, in 1659.

Shortly after Þórarinn's appointment, however, Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson (1605–1675) sent three parchment manuscripts as a gift to Frederik III: a thirteenth-century manuscript of *Grágas* (today Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 1157 fol.), the fourteenth-century manuscript of kings' sagas now known as Flateyjarbók (today Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 1005 fol.), and a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript of two legendary sagas, *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* and *Völsunga saga* (today Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1824 b 4to).[10]

In a letter dated to 10 July 1656, Brynjólfur wrote to Villum Lange (1624–1682), tutor of the crown prince Christian, that he was sending these manuscripts to Denmark with the intention that they would be studied, edited, and translated and by that made widely disseminated in Europe. As we can read from his letter, Brynjólfur was opposed to the mere storing of Icelandic manuscripts in foreign libraries and had a clear vision of how the future publications should look like, as well as who should be entrusted with the task:

8. Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The First Post-Medieval History of Norway in Latin: The Historia Rerum Norvegicarum (Copenhagen 1711) by Tormod Torfæus'; Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Saxo, Snorre og den nationale historieforskning i 1600-tallet'; E. Jørgensen, *Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Danmark indtil aar 1800*, 144.

9. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxxvii.

10. Undervisningsministeriet, *Betænkning vedrørende de i Danmark beroende Islandske Håndskrifter og Museumgenstande*, 11; Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxxviii, xlii–xliii.

> Tum negotium convertendi homini Islando commendabitur vel Danice, vel si magis placeat Latine, atque iterum edantur per columellas, qvarum una orginem ostendat, altera translationem atque sic elaboratæ antiqvitates in Europam universam, auspiciis septentrionis monarchae magni prodibunt, immortali regis statoris et servatoris sui gloria. [...] At in bibliothecas exteras codices mutos compingere, ubi nullo unqvam intelligentur, [...] id vero antivitates non conservare sed extingvere est.[11]
>
> (The work of translating [Old Norse-Icelandic texts] into Danish, or, if that's more pleasing, into Latin, shall be entrusted to an Icelander, and they should be published in columns, of which one presents the original and the other one translation, and in such a way prepared antiquities will go out in the whole Europe under the auspices of the great monarch of the North, to the eternal fame of their protector and preserver. [...] But to shut away mute manuscripts in foreign libraries, where they will never be understood by anyone [...] is in fact not to preserve the antiquities but to destroy them.)

After Þórarinn Eiríksson's death in 1659, another Icelander, Þormóður Torfason, better known under his Latinised name Thormodus Torfæus, was appointed by the king to translate Icelandic sagas into Danish. One of the manuscripts Frederik III had previously received from Brynjólfur Sveinsson, Flateyjarbók, was the basis for the biggest assignment that young Torfæus received: the Danish translation of all the texts preserved in this manuscript. Torfæus' translation, dated to 1661, is preserved in a magnificent manuscript consisting of four volumes: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1015 fol.[12] His translational work was not, however, limited to the kings' sagas, as there are manuscripts preserving his Danish translations of legendary sagas as well, for instance, the impressive volume of over 470 leaves, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1019 fol., which contains among other texts *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Bósa saga og Herrauðs*, and *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*.

11. Jón Helgason, *Úr bréfabókum Brynjólfs biskups Sveinssonar*, 72; see also: Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'To the Letter: Philology as a Core Component of Old Norse Studies', 7.

12. Petersen, 'Wulfstans kodex og Schumachers liste: Om den ældste fortegnelse over håndskrifter i det kongelige bibliotek', 26, 51.

Torfæus' work on the translation of Flateyjarbók must have pleased the monarch, as the following year he was appointed as the royal antiquarian and travelled to Iceland to collect manuscripts for the king. His journey proved successful, since he came back with some of the most important medieval Icelandic manuscripts, including the thirteenth-century codex of kings' sagas known today as Morkinskinna (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1009 fol.), the thirteenth-century codex known today as the Codex Regius of the Elder Edda (Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 2365 4to), as well as a fifteenth-century codex containing, among other texts, several legendary sagas (Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, GKS 2845 4to).[13] The contents of these volumes reflect the scholarly interest at the end of the seventeenth century in certain types of Old Norse literature, particularly kings' aagas and legendary sagas.

During his work as a royal translator of Old Norse texts, Torfæus became aware of the differences between the royal genealogies as they are presented by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta danorum* and their Old Norse alternatives. The king commissioned him to write an account of these differences, which became *Series dynastarum et regum Daniæ*, first completed in manuscript form in 1664 and published in a highly revised form in 1702.[14] After the completion of this volume, Torfæus, for some unknown reason, lost his privileged position at the Danish court, and one can only speculate what influence the controversial contents of the *Series dynastarum* might have had on his position. After all, even almost forty years later, when Árni Magnússon was discussing the publication of the volume with Torfæus, he considered its contents problematic and thought that it could be banned.[15] In a letter from 2 October 1700, Árni wrote to Torfæus about the expected reception of the volume by the Danish audience:

> ad þeim þætti otilheyriligt, ad vær Dansker skylldum giefa ödrum occasion til ad mistrua Saxoni. Kom mier þvi i hug,

13. Undervisningsministeriet, *Betænkning vedrørende de i Danmark beroende Islandske Håndskrifter og Museumgenstande*, 21; Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xli.

14. Torfæus, *Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ*.

15. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 128.

> ad so kynni falla, […], ad hans edition þá forbodin yrdi, iafnvel þo bókin censurerud sie.[16]
>
> (they would consider it inappropriate that we Danes should give others pretext to disbelieve Saxo. It crossed my mind, that it could happen, that your publication would be banned, even though it is censored.)

Whether the contents of *Series dynastarum* had anything to do with the winding course of Torfæus' scholarly career remains a matter of speculation, especially since already three years later, in 1667, he received another appointment as the royal antiquarian. His office was, however, not renewed after Frederik III's death, and he had to wait to regain his office until much later. In 1682, he was appointed the historiographer of the kingdom of Norway 'Historiographus for Kongeriget Norge' with the main assignment to write a complete history of Norway in Latin.[17]

It was under the auspices of Christian V (1646–1699) that Torfæus was able to continue his scholarly enterprise. Christian V took the Danish throne after his father and was the king of Denmark and Norway from 1670 until 1699. He continued his father's ideological program of emphasizing the hereditary character of Danish and Norwegian monarchies and was thus also highly interested in Old Norse-Icelandic material.[18] It is easy to imagine that the Scanian war (1675–79) pushed intellectual activities to the background, as it was not until 1681 that another Icelander appeared in the Danish scholarly landscape in the role of royal antiquarian. This was Hannes Þorleifsson (d. 1682), who was appointed on 7 June 1681 and in the following year sent to Iceland to collect manuscripts. His main assignments were summarised in six points listed in the letter of his appointment. They included preparing selected manuscripts for publication with commentaries; obtaining old and rare manuscripts ('gamle og rare Manuscripter') for the royal library; and writing a complete history of Iceland. In the same letter,

16. Kålund, *Arne Magnusson: Brevveksling med Torfæus*, 311.

17. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XVII:256.

18. Gottskálk Jensson, '*Hypothesis Islandica*, or Concerning the Initially Supportive but Ultimately Subversive Impact of the Rediscovery of Medieval Icelandic Literature on the Evaluation of Saxo Grammaticus as a Historical Authority during the Heyday of Danish Antiquarianism', 40.

Icelanders were encouraged to make their manuscripts available to Hannes.[19]

The antiquarian activities on the other side of the Øresund were no less intensive. In fact, the earliest editions of the legendary sagas originate in Sweden, not in Denmark. Olof Verelius (1618–1682), with the help of an Icelander, Jón Jónsson from Rúgstaðir (1636–1679), published an edition and a Swedish translation of *Gautreks saga* in 1664, followed by a series of other sagas. Only a few years later, in 1667, the Swedish Society of Antiquities (*Antikvitetskollegium*) was established, and, as will be discussed later, the appearance of *HsG* can be associated with the activities of this institution. One of the explicit objectives of the *Antikvitetskollegium* was to collect historical documents that could deliver information regarding Swedish history, including 'gamble Jsslandska och norske manuscripter' (old Icelandic and Norwegian manuscripts).[20]

The establishment of the *Antikvitetskollegium* and the intensification of Swedish interest in Old Norse sources preserved in Iceland probably played a not insignificant role in assuring the reappointment of Torfæus into the royal service of the Danish-Norwegian king. Torfæus wrote an application to the king in which he emphasised the scale of collecting and editorial activities in Sweden:

> hos de Svenske var derimod oprettet et Antiqvitets Collegium, forsynet med frit Bogtrykkerie, og en anseelig Indkomst om Aaret. De havde faaet en Islænder, som de rigelig underholdte. De opsøgde og tilhandlede dem alt hvad de kunde overkomme af vore gamle Sager; og havde allerede ved disses hielp faaet udgivne adskillige Skrifter.[21]
>
> (on the contrary, the Swedes have established a Society of Antiquities, provided with free printing [publishing], and a considerable yearly income. They have hired an Icelander, whom they have amply supported. They sought after and acquired for them all they could find of our old sagas, and have already, with their aid, gotten several writings published.)

19. Ólafur Halldórsson et al., *Lovsamling for Island*, I:381–383.

20. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*, 31; Schück, *Kgl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien: dess förhistoria och historia*, II:15–17.

21. Jón Eiríksson (John Erichsen), 'Thormod Torfesens Biographie', 266–267.

The competition for Old Norse-Icelandic sources was in full swing when two men, acting on behalf of the competing monarchies, spent time in Iceland collecting manuscripts in the very same year, 1682: the newly appointed royal antiquarian Hannes Þorleifsson on behalf of Denmark and Jón Eggertsson on behalf of the Swedish *Antikvitetskollegium*.[22] While Jón Eggertsson managed to obtain a considerable collection of manuscripts, which he sent to Stockholm, Hannes Þorleifsson's endeavours did not bring new acquisitions to the royal collection, as he, together with the manuscripts he collected, never made it back to Copenhagen.[23] After Hannes Þorleifsson's death, Christian V appointed Thomas Bartholin (1659–1690) as the royal antiquarian, and under his direct influence, the king issued a Royal Decree in 1685, which banned the sale of Icelandic manuscripts abroad.[24] The ban can be seen as a response to the manuscript collecting activities in Iceland of Jón Eggertsson on behalf of the Swedes, which, as Kålund put it, 'matte anses for i höj grad upatriotisk' (may be considered to a high degree unpatriotic).[25]

Thomas Bartholin's letter of appointment issued on 23 February 1683 makes it explicit that Icelandic materials would play a significant role in his scholarly enterprise, as he was required to:

> til Trykken at fuldbringe og færdiggiøre, saavel de ældste, nyttigste og rareste Skrifter, danske og islandske Sager og Monumenter angaaende, med tilbørlig Udtolkning og Forklaring, som og ellers det Værk, han om alle de gamle Danskes Sæder og Skikke, samt Love og Manerer haver begyndt.[26]

22. Bjarni Einarsson, *Munnmælasögur 17. aldar*, xlii; Bjarni Einarsson, 'Om Jón Eggertsson, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredeårsminde'; Jón Helgason, *Gamall kveðskapur*, 176; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*, 93–96.

23. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 42–43; Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, 'Upphaf handritasöfnunar Árna Magnússonar', 378.

24. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxix; Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, 'Upphaf handritasöfnunar Árna Magnússonar', 377–378.

25. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxix.

26. Werlauff and Jón Ólafsson, 'Biographiske Efterretninger om Arne Magnussen; ved Jon Olafssen fra Grunnavik. Med Indledning, Anmærkninger og Tillæg af E.C. Werlauff', 54.

> (complete and prepare for printing the oldest, most useful, and rarest writings, concerning the Danish and Icelandic sagas and monuments, with proper translation and interpretation, as well as this work which he has started about all the old customs and habits, alongside laws and manners of the Danes.)

That same year Bartholin met an Icelander, Árni Magnússon, recently enrolled at the University of Copenhagen, whom he hired as his assistant to translate Old Norse texts. Bartholin was also in contact with Jón Eggertsson, who at that time was imprisoned in Copenhagen, and obtained from him some manuscripts. After 1685, Bartholin also stayed in contact with Torfæus, with whom he was discussing various matters of his research.[27] All these men played an important role in the early dissemination of *HsG*, which will be discussed in the following section.

1.2 Researching the saga before 1800

Scholarly interest in Old Norse-Icelandic literature flourished throughout the seventeenth century both in Denmark and Sweden. While the most scholarly attention was directed towards the Eddas and the kings' sagas, the legendary sagas, such as *HsG*, also became increasingly sought after. From extant scholarly correspondence, we know that at least in Denmark at the end of the seventeenth century, there was scholarly interest in the story of Hrómundur. In 1684, Torfæus, who at that time was the royal historiographer tasked with writing a history of Norway, wrote a letter to his acquaintance in Iceland, Reverend Torfi Jónsson (1617–1689), pastor of Gaulverjabær and a nephew of Bishop Brynjólfur Sveinsson. In this letter, Torfæus stated that he needed access to several sagas, which could be useful in his study of royal genealogies. One of the sagas he mentioned is a saga of Hrómundur Greipsson, which he had never seen: 'þvi þarft eg öbrigdannlega sógur af Harallde Hilldetón, Amlooda, […] og af Hromunde Greipssyne sem eg hefe helldur alldrei sied' (Therefore I need reliable sagas of

27. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 52; Aðalgeir Kristjánsson, 'Upphaf handritasöfnunar Árna Magnússonar', 380.

Haraldur hilditǫnn, Amlóði, […] and of Hrómundur Greipsson, which I have also never seen) (AM 285 b IV fol., f. 13v).

Even though Torfæus lists *HsG* in his *Series dynastarum*, as published in 1702,[28] and mentions Hrómundur in his *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*,[29] it is not certain at which point he actually received a manuscript copy of the saga. His knowledge of the story of Hrómundur, demonstrated in *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*, where he lists Hrómundur as a grandson of Hrókur the black in Book IV, chapters 2 and 14, might have come exclusively from secondary sources. Torfæus was after all very well versed in Icelandic sources, as attested in the same letter:

> Enn i Gaungu Hrölfs Historiu sem ätte ad wera sonur Sturlaugs (allt ef þad er sä same Sturlaugur) stendur ad Olafur sonur Gaungu Rolfs, sem atte ad wera Kongur i Danmórk, hefde hafft hiä sier Hromund Greipßon, Enn nær Hromundur Greipsson war, weit eg wel, þvi hann var langafe Jngolfs, sem Ißland first bidge, og dottur sonur Hroks swarta, sem war Eirn af Hälfs Reckum (AM 285 b IV fol., f. 12v)
>
> (But in the saga of Göngu-Hrólfur, who was supposed to be a son of Sturlaugur (if this is the same Sturlaugur), it is written that Ólafur, son of Göngu-Hrólfur, who was supposed to be a king in Denmark, had with him Hrómundur Greipsson. And I know very well when Hrómundur Greipsson was [alive], because he was a great-grandfather of Ingólfur, who was the first to settle Iceland, and a maternal grandson of Hrókur the Black, who was one of Hálfur's champions.)

None of these pieces of information about Hrómundur had to come directly from *17HsG*. The information about Ólafur being king of Denmark, and his relationship to Göngu-Hrólfur could be based on *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*,[30] while the information about Hrómundur being a great-grandfather of Ingólfur could have come from *Landnámabók*,[31] or secondarily from *Flóamanna*

28. Torfæus, *Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ*, 6.
29. Torfæus, *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum*; Torfæus, *Norges Historie*.
30. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, III:363.
31. Finnur Jónsson, *Landnámabók*, 6.

saga.[32] Finally, Hrómundur's relationship to Hrókur the Black is also mentioned in *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*.[33] Because of this intertextual context in which Hrómundur Greipsson appears, Torfæus could have equally well included Hrómundur in his genealogies without having access to any actual copy of *HsG*.

At some point, however, Torfæus must have received a manuscript containing the prose version of the story, as there are two manuscripts preserving *17HsG* with marginalia written in his hand. Both manuscripts are today part of the Arnamagnæan collection and are held in Reykjavík, AM 193 e fol. and AM 587 b 4to (see manuscript descriptions in Chapter 2). In both manuscripts, Torfæus comments on the genealogies of the saga characters. One emphasises the similarities between various sagas, while the other highlights the differences. From these marginal notes, it is clear – and not really surprising – that Torfæus, as the royal historiographer, was mainly interested in the genealogies of Danish and Norwegian dynasties. What is worth observing, however, is that *17HsG* serves as a source of historical information almost simultaneously with the appearance of the very first manuscripts of the saga. This happens around the same time as Torfæus is given the assignment of writing the history of Norway and when he writes to Torfi Jónsson that he has never seen this saga.

While Hrómundar saga is preserved in over thirty manuscripts, none of them can be dated further back in time than the second half of the seventeenth century. Textual analysis reveals that all extant texts of *17HsG*, as preserved in these manuscripts, are descended from a single manuscript, AM 601 b 4to, which is written in Jón Eggertsson's hand (see discussion in Chapter 2). This is the same infamous Jón Eggertsson mentioned in the previous section, who was collecting manuscripts in Iceland in 1682 for the Swedish *Antikvitetskollegium*. Moreover, it has been previously suggested that Jón Eggertsson was the author of *17HsG*.[34] Given the important role of Jón Eggertsson in the creation of the saga, it seems very likely that the reappearance of the long-lost saga in Denmark had something

32. Finnur Jónsson, *Flóamannasaga*, 2.

33. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, II:59.

34. Bjarni Einarsson, 'Om Jón Eggertsson, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredeårsminde'; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*.

to do with the antiquarian and historical interest in Old Norse-Icelandic sources, which was so characteristic of this period. As the following section will demonstrate, the activity of Jón Eggertsson can be seen as a response to this contemporary interest.

Even though theoretically the possibility cannot be excluded that Jón gained access to some manuscript preserving *17HsG* during his stay in Iceland in 1682 and decided to copy it, it seems unlikely given the circumstances. After his journey to Iceland, Jón prepared a report of his expenses for the *Antikvitetskollegium*. This report includes a list of manuscripts he brought with him, and on this list, there is a manuscript which contained six sets of *rímur*. It is described as follows:

> Een bog, indeholder Riimer, gammel, 1. Remunds Rimer 24. 2. Vilhialms Rimur 20. 3. Eigill Skallagryms Sonar R. 40. 4. Hromundar Greips Sonar R. 6. 5. Bragda Ølvers Rymur 6. 6. Skotlands Rymur. 2. R:dr.[35]
>
> (A book containing rímur, old: 1. Rímur af Remundi Rígarðssyni 24, 2. Rímur af Vilhjálmi sjóð 20, 3. Egils rímur Skallagrímssonar 40, 4. Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar 6, 5. Bragða-Ölvis rímur 6, 6. Skotlandsrímur. 2 rixdollars.)

From this description, it is clear that Jón obtained a volume, which I refer to as *JE 27 4to,[36] which contained *Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar*, i.e. the metric version of the story, rather than the prose version. *JE 27 4to is now lost, and it cannot be excluded that it perished in the fire of Stockholm castle in 1697, as many other manuscripts did.[37] Between 1684 and 1687, Jón Eggertsson was imprisoned in Copenhagen, where he was copying various texts for his Swedish customers, but also kept regular contact with Dan-

35. Klemming, *Ur en antecknares samlingar*, 42.

36. My naming practice of former codices is inspired by that introduced by Beeke Stegmann in her 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts'; I add an asterisk in front of the siglum to make a disambiguation of former codices easier.

37. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xxxiv.

ish scholars, including Thomas Bartholin and Árni Magnússon.[38] Given the antiquarian interest of people such as Torfæus in stories like *HsG*, it seems highly possible that Jón Eggertsson converted the *rímur* that he obtained in 1682 into prose, in order to meet this contemporary antiquarian need.

From the perspective of the transmission history of *17HsG*, it is important to observe that *JE 27 4to contained, among other sets of *rímur*, *Bragða-Ölvis rímur*, which appeared in the manuscript immediately after *Hrómundar rímur*. AM 601 b 4to, on the other hand, preserves not only the best text of *17HsG*, but also, according to Hooper, the best text of the prosification of *Bragða-Ölvis rímur*, known as *Bragða-Ölvis saga*.[39] It would be an unlikely coincidence for two prosifications of two poems, which appear together in a single *rímur* manuscript, to also appear in a single saga manuscript. Given the timing and circumstances, it seems highly probable that Jón Eggertsson was responsible for converting both sets of *rímur* into prose. Árni Magnússon, in fact, was convinced that Jón Eggertsson had something to do with *17HsG*, when he called it in his notes an 'imposture' or fabrication, which was widely repeated in the later scholarship.

> Saga af Hrómundi Greipssÿni er einskis verd. Þormódur Torfason in Epistola qvadam mihi scripta, ad skilia sú sem eg hafdi sent honum. Et verum est, impostura enim est, Jons Eggertssonar.[40]
>
> Hrómundar saga Greipssonar is of no value. Þormóður Torfason in a letter written to me, meaning this [saga] that I had

38. Jón Eggertsson was imprisoned in April 1684. The reasons for this are unclear, as the legal records of the city of Copenhagen for this period are lost. In his lifetime, Jón was accused of various things, including witchcraft, travelling abroad without valid documents, tax fraud, etc. In January 1685, he was found guilty of tax fraud. In his correspondence with the *Antikvitetskollegium*, however, Jón pointed towards his service for the Swedish society as the cause of his misfortune. Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I: Till Antikvitetskollegiets inrättande*, 201–207; Bjarni Einarsson, *Munnmælasögur 17. aldar*, xxvi–xxvii; Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*; Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 52, 75.

39. Hooper, '*Bragða-Qlvis saga* Now First Edited'; Hooper, 'Bragða Qlvis saga and rímur'.

40. Jón Helgason, 'Athugarnir Árna Magnússonar um fornsögur', 41.

> sent to him. And it is true. It is with certainty an imposture of Jón Eggertsson.[41]

From this note, we learn not only that Árni Magnússon considered *17HsG* a fabrication, but also that it was worthless for Torfæus. This statement is especially relevant in the context of the marginalia in Torfæus' hand which accompany *17HsG* in his manuscripts, as well as his scholarly correspondence regarding this saga. It seems that Torfæus first asked Torfi Jónsson about *HsG* because he believed it would be useful in his research into Danish and Norwegian genealogies, then got hold of the saga and commented in the margins about the genealogical similarities and discrepancies with other sagas, and finally came to the conclusion that *17HsG* was worthless, most likely referring to its value as a historical source.

As has been suggested elsewhere, Jón Eggertsson might have written AM 601 b 4to while he was imprisoned in Copenhagen, where he may have had limited access to resources, and this could explain why the paper on which the sagas are written is repurposed from some book of accounts.[42] At the same time, as Jón Eggertsson states in his report to the Swedes, there was a shortage of paper in Iceland at the time when he was there collecting manuscripts and perhaps this is the real reason why he reused sheets of paper to write down *HsG* and *Bragða-Ölvis saga*. As Jón Eggertsson writes in his report about one of the manuscripts he delivered: 'Er æj eller Reenskrefuen, fordj der var defect paa papiir udj Iissland, dend Thid' (Not rewritten cleanly because at that time there was a lack of paper in Iceland).[43] This does not need to be completely true, as among Torfæus's correspondence, we can find indication that paper was accessible in Iceland around the same time. In 1684, Torfæus instructs his acquaintance in Iceland, a certain Sigurður Jónsson of Eyrarbakki to provide paper and pay to scribes willing to copy some texts for him, as he writes 'bid hann vilie leggia til pappir, og betala peninga þeim sem vilia skrifa þeßar Historiur firir mig' (AM 285 b IV fol., f. 15r).

41. Kapitan and Stegmann, 'Writing, Correcting and Annotating AM 601 b 4to: Material and Multispectral Analysis', 135.

42. Kapitan and Stegmann.

43. Klemming, *Ur en antecknares samlingar*, 40.

But if Jón wrote AM 601 b 4to in Iceland we have to ask why it was not included in his report and why it was not sent to Stockholm with all the other volumes he collected? Bjarni Einarsson speculated that Jón only sent part of the manuscripts he collected in Iceland to Stockholm and kept some manuscripts 'som pant' (as collateral).[44] At the same time, he does not exclude the possibility that Jón continued to collect and copy manuscripts in Copenhagen and that is where additional volumes sent to Stockholm at a later date originate from. The second explanation seems more probable, since there appears to be no direct benefit for Jón in sending a few dozen manuscripts to Stockholm and keeping just a few as insurance.

How the transmission history of *17HsG* developed in the early years of its existence is not absolutely clear. But considering the network of people involved in the production of the earliest manuscripts, we can put forward a possible hypothesis regarding its circulation. Regardless of whether *17HsG* was actually written by Jón Eggertsson while he was imprisoned in Copenhagen, the oldest manuscript of the saga written in his hand (AM 601 b 4to) came at some point into the possession of Árni Magnússon, as it contains extensive marginalia in both men's hands. As previously mentioned, Árni Magnússon was in contact with Jón Eggertsson during the latter's imprisonment and the two men were on good terms. It is therefore easy to imagine that AM 601 b 4to came to Árni directly from Jón. According to Bjarni Einarsson, there were two Icelanders who were providing Jón with paper and manuscripts to copy, Helgi Ólafsson and Árni Magnússon himself, bearing witness to the close relationship between Jón and Árni.[45]

As the note by Árni Magnússon quoted above suggests, Torfæus must had received a copy of *17HsG* from Árni himself. Both manuscripts that can be confidently affiliated with Torfæus, AM 193 e fol. and AM 587 b 4to, are closely related and textual evidence suggests that AM 193 e fol. is derived from AM 587 b 4to.

After Torfæus' death in 1719 both manuscripts came into the possession of Árni Magnússon, who in his catalogue noted that AM

44. Bjarni Einarsson, 'Om Jón Eggertsson, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredeårsminde', 13.

45. Bjarni Einarsson, 14.

193 e fol. was written 'epter exemplare med hendi Eyolfs Biorns sonar komnu fra mier' (after an exemplar in Eyjólfur Björnsson's hand which came from me). This exemplar was most likely AM 587 b 4to, partially written by Eyjólfur. Moreover, it is probably this manuscript that Árni sent to Torfæus, mentioned in the note 'sú sem eg hafdi sent honum'.

Eyjólfur Björnsson worked for Árni Magnússon in Copenhagen during the years 1687–1689 and collaborated with Ásgeir Jónsson on some manuscripts for Árni until Ásgeir left for Norway with Torfæus in 1688. It is entirely possible that AM 587 b 4to was written by Eyjólfur and Ásgeir in Copenhagen for Árni Magnússon, and that Torfæus then received this manuscript from Árni, possibly shortly after his visit to Copenhagen in 1688, and ordered Ásgeir to copy *17HsG* again into AM 193 e fol..[46] This interpretation is in line with Már Jónsson's observation regarding some manuscripts of kings' sagas, where Ásgeir produced volumes in folio format for Torfæus and in quarto for Árni. On the one hand we have AM 587 b 4to, which is in quarto format and was most likely written in Copenhagen for Árni Magnússon, and only later came into the possession of Torfæus, and on the other hand we have AM 193 e fol., which is in folio format and was written in Norway for Torfæus.[47]

It is hard not to notice that the time when Ásgeir Jónsson and Eyjólfur Björnsson collaborated in Copenhagen on AM 587 b 4to (1687–1688) overlaps with the time Jón Eggertsson spent in Copenhagen, either in prison or afterwards, before he left to Sweden for his final months (1684–89).[48] As further discussed in Chapter 2, textually it is clear that *17HsG* in AM 587 b 4to is derived from AM

46. For more information on AM 587 b 4to and AM 193 e fol., as well as the former manuscripts to which they belonged at Torfæus' times (*TT XIII 4to and *TT XIII fol.), see Section 2.2.

47. Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal', 294; see also Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Leiðbeiningar Árna Magnússonar', 103.

48. Ásgeir Jónsson started his studies in Copenhagen on 19 November 1686, Eyjólfur Björnsson on 20 September 1687, while Jón Eggersson was released from prison in the spring of 1687. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:91, 451; Bjarni Einarsson, *Munnmælasögur 17. aldar*, xxxii; Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal'; Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 74–79.

601 b 4to, but it is difficult to prove that it is its direct apograph. At the same time, it seems highly probable that the exemplar of the saga copied by Ásgeir and Eyjólfur came from Jón Eggertsson, perhaps through the agency of Árni Magnússon, and thus was possibly AM 601 b 4to itself. These men were part of an Icelandic community in Copenhagen, many of them knew each other personally, so points of contact existed to facilitate such an exchange of manuscripts, and the textual variation in the oldest manuscripts is so minor that it cannot exclude this possibility.

Árni Magnússon's broad scholarly network is probably also responsible for the arrival of *17HsG* in Iceland. The three oldest manuscripts of the saga from Iceland were written by Jón Þórðarson in 1695 and at least one of them can be certainly associated with the wealthy Icelandic book collector and commissioner Magnús Jónsson í Vigur (1637–1702). The manuscript in question is British Library, Add. 4859 (B4859),[49] but, according to Jóhann Gunnar Ólafsson, Lbs 222 fol., held at Landsbókasafn Íslands, can also be considered as one of Magnús' manuscripts.[50] The origin of the last manuscript, AM 345 4to, held at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, is uncertain. Árni Magnússon was in contact with Magnús Jónsson and exchanged books with him, as the correspondence between the two men suggests.[51] Therefore, it is possible that Árni sent Magnús a copy of *17HsG* that was derived from AM 601 b 4to and served as an exemplar for at least one of the extant texts in Jón Þórðarson's hand. We know there was at least one more manuscript in Magnús Jónsson's possession that preserved a text of *17HsG*. In AM 211 b 4to, which contains various materials associated with Magnús' brother, Sigurður Jónsson (1643–1730), there is a note which lists two manuscripts in quarto, which belonged to Magnús Jónsson but are now lost. The manuscript described as 'Onnur Sógubök M J. S. J 4o' (the second book of Magnús Jónsson in 4to, henceforth *MJ 2 4to) contained, among other sagas, *Hrómundar saga* and *Bragða-*

49. See the description of the manuscript by McDonald Werronen, 'London, British Library', archived on 8/06/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20230608192021/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/add-4859/.

50. Jóhann Gunnar Ólafsson, 'Magnús Jónsson í Vigur'.

51. Kålund, *Arne Magnussons private brevveksling*, 243–245.

Ölvis saga (AM 211 b 4to, p. 102). According to Jón Helgason,[52] the majority of the materials preserved in AM 211 b 4to are from years 1695–1697, while Kålund dates this manuscript to ca. 1700.[53] Given the chronology, *MJ 2 4to might be the hypothetical missing link between AM 601 b 4to and the manuscripts in Jón Þórðarson's hand.

In this context, it is worth to mention that, as Már Jónsson observed, Magnús Jónsson had to complain in one of his letters to Árni about the fact that he provided more texts for Árni than received in return.[54] Árni Magnússon responded quite defensively in 1691, stating that 'þær sögur er eg idar vinsemd sendt hefi kostad mig meir enn þeir kannski trua kinnud' (the sagas that I sent you have cost me more than you could probably believe). This attests to the exchange of books in both directions, and Árni certainly refers here to the expenses connected to hiring Icelanders in Copenhagen, such as Eyjólfur Björnsson and Ásgeir Jónsson. We cannot know whether *17HsG* was among the costly sagas Árni Magnússon sent to Magnús Jónsson, but considering the textual and chronological evidence, this appears to have been a possible scenario, and perhaps the lost *MJ 2 4to was this manuscript.

It is perhaps worth to emphasise here, that *17HsG* most likely made its way to Sweden earlier than to Iceland. One of the two autograph manuscripts in Jón Eggertsson's hand, P67, arrived in Stockholm on 9 October 1687 (according to the note on f. 2r). In this manuscript, there are marginalia in the hand of Guðmundur Ólafsson (1652–95), an Icelander who worked as a translator from Old Norse-Icelandic to Latin and Swedish at the *Antikvitetskollegium* in the period from 1681 until his death in 1695. [55] In his

52. Jón Helgason, *Kvæðabók úr Vigur, AM 148, 8°*, 12–13.

53. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:475.

54. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 101.

55. Guðmundur translated *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* (1694), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (1695), and *Heimskringla*, published by Peringskiöld (1697). For Guðmundur's biography, see: Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:173; for a description of his academic career, see Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I: Till Antikvitetskollegiets inrättande*, 177–183; Busch, 'Grossmachtstatus und Sagainterpretation - die schwedischen Vorzeitsagaeditionen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', 21–22, 82; Lavender, '*Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in Sweden: Textual Transmission, History and Genre-Formation in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', 202–208.

introduction to *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, Guðmundur lists a number of reliable sagas, and among them *HsG*, suggesting that he had already worked with *HsG* before 1694. Guðmundur was a close collaborator of Johan Hadorph (1630–1693), a Swedish antiquarian, who in turn was also responsible for maintaining contacts with Jón Eggertsson.[56] It is possible that Guðmundur worked on the translation of *17HsG*, but no manuscript in his hand is known to me. There is, however, a manuscript preserving an early translation of the saga: Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, Papp. fol. 98. According to Gödel, the text of *Hrómundar saga* in Papp. fol. 98 was written by another *Antikvitetskollegiet*'s translator, Nils Hufvudson Dal (1690–1740).[57] Even though *17HsG* was not among the earliest Legendary Sagas published in Sweden, it made it to print relatively shortly after its composition. It appeared in Björner's *Nordiska kämpa dater* published in Stockholm in 1737, where the Old Norse-Icelandic text was printed side by side with Latin and Swedish translations. The edition is followed by a short commentary, which mentions various references to Hrómundur in Swedish place names, archaeological finds, and folklore, thus bearing witness to the Swedish interest in the story about Hrómundur.

This section has demonstrated how the scholarly networks of late seventeenth-century Denmark and beyond overlapped with the scribal network of people responsible for the creation and circulation of *Hrómundar saga*. It has shown that various scholars in Iceland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were to a certain extent interested in the story of Hrómundur and involved in the production and dissemination of its earliest manuscripts. The textual relationships among the discussed manuscripts are presented in Chapter 2.

1.3 Researching the saga after 1800

The arbitrary watershed of 1800 is introduced here to separate the early modern, antiquarian enquiries into *Hrómundar saga* from more systematic, scholarly examinations of its origins and trans-

56. For Hadorph's biography, see: Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, 966–968.

57. Gödel, *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och fornnorska handskrifter*, 229. For Dal's biography, see: Boëthius et al., *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, IX:790.

mission history. Although the resemblance between Erik Julius Björner's approach to the saga in 1737 and the earliest nineteenth-century discussion by Peter Erasmus Müller (1776–1834), discussed below, cannot be overlooked.

The publication of the Danish summary of the saga accompanied by a commentary by Peter Erasmus Müller, a Danish bishop, historian, and linguist, is a manifestation of the long-standing Danish scholarly interest in the saga of Hrómundur, extending into the nineteenth century.[58] Müller already mentioned *HsG* and its relationship to *Þorgils saga og Hafliða* in his *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhange über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*.[59] In *Sagabibliothek*, Müller further drew scholarly attention to the accounts about Hrómundur found not only in *Þorgils saga og Hafliða*, but also in *Landnámabók*, other Icelandic sagas, and some Scandinavian ballads. He was clearly interested in the medieval origins of the story, as suggested by his conclusion that 'Denne Saga er altsaa den ældste islandske, som vi med Vished vide at være opdigtet' (this saga as the oldest Icelandic saga that we with certainty know was composed).[60] At the same time, just as his predecessors, Müller paid no attention to the textual transmission of the saga, or the early modern origins of the *17HsG*.

The first scholar to draw attention to the similarities between various texts of *17HsG* was Carl Christian Rafn, who briefly discussed the manuscripts used for his edition in the introduction.[61] Rafn listed three manuscripts of the saga: the already mentioned AM 587 b 4to (A587), AM 193 e fol. (A193), and AM 345 4to (A345), as well as Björner's edition. This suggests that he examined a limited number of manuscripts, focusing on these available to him in Copenhagen. He chose A587 as the basis for the main text of the

58. For Müller's biography, see Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XI:602–606. Müller's summary appeared in the second volume of the collection Müller, *Sagabibliothek*, II:545–556. His summary relies on Björner's edition and that dependence can be seen in selected variant readings which 'survived' the translation process, for example 'og efter fire Dages...' (p. 546) and 'og overvundet 134 i holmgang' (p. 547).

59. Müller, *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhange über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*, 42.

60. Müller, *Sagabibliothek*, II:556.

61. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, xii–xiii.

edition and provided very limited variant apparatus with the selected readings from A345 and Björner's edition. No clear relationship between the manuscripts can be established based on the information provided in the introduction, other than that Rafn considered A193 closely related to A345, which in turn was closely related to Björner's edition.

Some time after the publication of Rafn's edition, Jón Sigurðsson (1811–1879), an Icelandic politician and archivist, showed some interest in the story of Hrómundur.[62] Even though he did not publish anything about *HsG* in particular, he included information about *Griplur* in his *Rímnatal*, which can be found in JS 314 8vo, held in *Landsbókasafn Íslands*. In JS 314 8vo (f. 264r), he observed that the *Griplur* are old and based on better manuscripts than the ones used for the edition of the saga. Moreover, in one of his marginal notes accompanying *Griplur* in JS 55 4to (f. 46r), Jón Sigurðsson drew attention to the relationship between *Griplur*, *17HsG*, and the lost saga mentioned in *Þorgils saga og Hafliða*, but it is unknown how he interpreted the relationships between these works.[63]

The first attempt to evaluate the relationships between the lost saga, *Griplur*, and *17HsG* was undertaken by Eugen Kölbing (1876) in his *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*.[64] Kölbing concluded that the seventeenth-century saga is independent from the *rímur* and they both are derived from a lost medieval saga about Hrómundur. Kölbing did not limit his analysis to the relationships between the *rímur* and the saga. He also touched upon the matter of the filiation of the saga texts, as preserved in various manuscripts known to him. He contributed significantly to the research on the *HsG* tradition by bringing to scholarly attention other manuscripts of the saga not mentioned in Rafn's edition.

From his overview of the material available to him, however, we can clearly see the limitations of his conclusions. Kölbing poin-

62. For Jón Sigurðsson's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:266.

63. Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

64. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*.

ted out that A601 should be taken into consideration while discussing the transmission of *17HsG* as it contains some good readings, but at the same time he dismissed A193, based on Rafn's incorrect assessment that its text is almost identical with the text of A345. Kölbing did not have access to A345 to verify Rafn's judgement and had to rely on the limited apparatus of that edition. Kölbing stated that he briefly examined British Library manuscript Sloane 4860 and considered it worthless, while he did not have a chance to consult Swedish translations of the saga in Papp. fol. 98 (P98).[65] Based on this limited material, Kölbing excluded the possibility that any of the examined manuscripts could be a *codex optimus* of the existing tradition or even a textual ancestor of the other examined manuscripts of *17HsG*.[66]

His observations suggest that he greatly relied on Rafn's edition, even regarding the readings of Björner's edition. For example, Kölbing considered 'hverju' missing in A601, but failed to notice that A601 and P67 (or Björner's edition) have actually a different reading: 'einu' instead of 'hverju'. This variant is not included in the apparatus of Rafn's edition, therefore, Kölbing did not know it. Additionally, the reading 'Lára' for 'Kára' suggests that he did not consult A587 either, or he would have noticed that A587 preserved 'Kára', not 'Lára', as Rafn's edition suggested. According to Kölbing, A587, P67 (or rather Björner's edition based on P67), A345, and A601 are independent from each other, and presumably derived from a lost manuscript Y.

Kölbing's conclusions regarding the relationships between manuscripts of the saga were brought into question already by Andrews in 1911. He pointed out the error in Rafn's edition regarding the name of Helgi's mistress, 'Lára'.[67] Additionally, he dismissed as of minor importance the variant 'hverju' for 'einu', on which Kölbing built his argument that A601 cannot be an ancestor of the other manuscripts. Andrews's conclusions went in the opposite direction, rejecting the idea that all the manuscripts are independent from each other. He suggested instead that A601 preserves the ori-

65. Under shelfmark 'Sloane mscr. 4860 (Britt. Mus)' Kölbing must mean BL Add. 4859. It is worth noting that today BL Add. 4860 preserves some *fornaldarsögur* and *riddarasögur*, but not *17HsG*. Kölbing, 160.

66. Kölbing, 181.

67. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda', 528.

ginal text of the saga and is the ancestor of the entire tradition (and the *codex optimus*).[68]

Andrews grouped the texts into two branches and presented them in the form of a very basic stemma.[69] On one side, he placed manuscripts in Ásgeir Jónsson's hand A587, A193, and the third unnamed branch which must represent T1768, to which he refers in the text. On the other side, he placed P67 and A345.

Andrews' observations are for the most part correct, but it has to be emphasised that he certainly relied on Björner's edition and not on the actual readings of P67, as he reproduced errors originating from the edition. To mention a few clear examples:

- 370:18: 'lendar' against 'herðar' is an error based on Björner's edition, as P67 (f. 109v:19) preserves 'lendar'.
- 365:16–17: 'Ólafr konungr austr' against 'Ólafr konungr vestr' is an incorrect variant, as the reading *vestur* in P67 (f. 102v:18) is a later correction made in a different hand. The original *austur*, still readable, was crossed over and replaced with *vestur*. This change is important from the perspective of the saga's transmission, to identify manuscripts presumably derived from P67 and preserving the corrected version, but not from the perspective of Andrews' aim to reveal the original. In that case, the original reading of P67 agrees with A587 and A601 against A345, which preserves the reading 'Ólafr norðr'.
- 375:13 'so' against 'hrifjar' should be: 'hrifjar so' as preserved in P67 against 'hrifjar þar með' in other manuscripts. This reading is registered in Björner's edition, thus it must be Andrews' error.

Therefore, Andrews' stemma omits one of the oldest texts of the saga, the one preserved in P67, which is one of two manuscripts of the saga in Jón Eggertsson's hand. It is worth mentioning that there are also two errors in the readings of A345, which Andrews used for his analysis, which are his misreadings:

68. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda', 530–531.
69. Andrews, 531.

- 366:4: 'styrði' against 'réði' in other manuscripts. Even though this reading is unclear, A345 (f. 74v:17) preserves the abbreviated form of 'R*ie*þe',
- 368:10: 'hit má' against 'hann má', while A345 (f. 75v:2) preserves the abbreviated form of 'h*an*n'.

Regarding the relationships between the saga and the *rímur*, Andrews did not agree with Kölbing either. He saw the saga as a paraphrase of the *rímur*, but not directly related to any of the known texts of *Griplur*.

Andrews' analysis of *Griplur* was based on Finnur Jónsson's edition from 1896, in which Finnur Jónsson used exclusively AM 610 c 4to, AM 146 a 8vo, and AM 387 fol.. The latter was treated as a reliable copy of Cod. Guelf. 42.7. Aug. 4to.[70] Only a few years later, Finnur Jónsson published *Rímnasafn*, in which he expanded the edition with variant readings from Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Acc. 22. Thus Andrews' analysis, regardless of how thorough and convincing, was already outdated at the time of its publication. Andrews mentions the new edition in one of the footnotes, where he makes a brief observation regarding Acc. 22, but his whole study relies on *Fernir forníslenskir rímnaflokkar* and Acc. 22 had not yet been systematically studied.[71] The editor of *Griplur*, Finnur Jónsson, sparsely commented on the discrepancies between the saga and the *rímur* in the commentary accompanying

70. For more information on the manuscripts of *Griplur*, see: Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

71. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda', 540. Andrews' article was published with the date April 1911, while Finnur's new edition of *Griplur* was published in fascicles in 1909 and 1910. It is highly possible that these two scholars were in some contact, as Andrews is known to have visited Copenhagen, probably during his time as a PhD student in Kiel (see his biography, archived on 20/06/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20230620171230/http://bhort.bh.cornell.edu/andrews.htm), and Finnur might have informed Andrews about the acquisition of Acc. 22 in 1902 and his updated edition, but it seems doubtful that Andrews has studied its readings as systematically as he studied readings of the remaining manuscripts. The footnote seems like an attempt to 'cover his back' as he probably already realised that his study had become outdated the very moment it was published. If Andrews had analysed the readings and structure of Acc. 22 in an equally detailed way as he had studied other manuscripts, we would expect Acc. 22 and its obvious transpositions of stanzas to appear in his table with the overview of the transpositions Andrews, 535.

his edition, which led him to the conclusion that the saga is based on the *rímur*.[72] Björn K. Þórólfsson agreed with Andrews and Finnur Jónsson concluding that *17HsG* is derived from *rímur*. He furthermore suggested that the text is closely related to the *rímur* preserved in AM 146 a 8vo.[73]

Conversely, the idea of the *rímur* and the saga being independent of each other, as suggested by Kölbing, was revived by Hooper. He believed that the seventeenth-century saga is based on the lost saga, with certain interpolations from the *rímur*.[74] Hooper presented his stemma of the relationships between, among others, the *rímur* and the saga, but did not devote much attention to the relationships between various texts of the saga, accepting Andrews' conclusion on the matter.[75]

Hooper's conclusion regarding the saga-*rímur* relationship relies greatly on the note which follows *17HsG* in A601, A587, A193, and (in an abridged form) in T1768. As it is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter (Section 2.4), the note mentions an illegible exemplar, but this is not strong enough evidence to support Hooper's conclusion. At the same time, Hooper probably saw as one of his strong arguments for the independence of the saga and the *rímur* the absence of one of Blindur's dreams from *Griplur*. This had already been observed by Finnur Jónsson..[76] This dream can, however, be seen as a misunderstanding in the saga, which originates in stanza VI:31 of the *rímur*. This would then provide further evidence for the opposite argument than the one Hooper was making.

Some time after Hooper's article appeared, Brown rejected his conclusion and successfully demonstrated, by emphasizing numerous alterations and reminiscences of poetic form underlying the saga, that the saga is based on the *rímur*. She concluded:

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72. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, 409–410; Finnur Jónsson, *Den islandske Litteraturs Historie, tilligemed den oldnordiske*, 333–334; Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 802–803.

73. Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 353.

74. Hooper, 'Hrómundar saga Greipssonar', x–xvi; Hooper, 'Hrómundar saga Gripssonar and the Griplur', 56.

75. Hooper, 'Hrómundar saga Greipssonar', iii–iv.

76. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, 410.

> A close comparison of the texts of S [saga] and R [*rímur*] suggests very strongly that S is a paraphrase of R. The writer has sometimes abbreviated his text severely and at other times borrowed whole verses, altering only the position or tense of words to disguise the verse-form.[77]

Brown's interpretation of the relationships between *17HsG* and *Griplur* became an accepted opinion in the scholarly discussion since then.[78]

77. Brown, 'The Saga of Hrómund Gripsson and Þorgilssaga', 77.

78. Jesch, 'Hrómundr Gripsson Revisited', 91; Jesch, 'Hrómundar saga Gripssonar', 305; Foote, 'Hrómundar saga Gripssonar', 321; Jorgensen, 'The Neglected Genre of Rímur-Derived Prose and Post-Reformation Jónatas Saga', 191; Tulinius, 'Kynjasögur úr fortíð og framandi löndum', 174; Driscoll, 'The Oral, the Written, and the In-between: Textual Instability in the Post-Reformation Lygisaga', 210; Driscoll, 'Pleasure and Pastime: The Manuscripts of Guðbrandur Sturlaugsson á Hvítadal', 248; Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, 'Tales of Generations: A Comparison between Some Icelandic and Geatish Narrative Motifs', 14; Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.

Chapter 2

Oldest manuscripts of *17HsG*

The manuscripts discussed in this chapter, as listed in relative chronological order in Table 2.1, constitute the oldest part of the tradition of *17HsG*, as they were all written in the second half of the seventeenth century. The discussion of these manuscripts is separated from the younger part of the tradition (Chapter 3) not only due to the chronology but also because these are the manuscripts upon which previous scholars based their arguments regarding the saga's transmission (Section 1.3).[1] Ultimately, due to the high level of variation within the tradition, only the readings from these manuscripts are included in the variant apparatus of the edition of *17HsG* accompanying the present study. This chapter describes the oldest manuscripts of *17HsG*, assesses the relationships between the texts they preserve, and discusses the manuscript contexts in which the saga appears.

As presented in Table 2.1, all the oldest texts of the saga were written mainly by three scribes. Therefore, they are grouped and discussed separately in the following subsections. Section 2.1 discusses the two manuscripts in the hand of Jón Eggertsson, a poet and manuscript collector who is considered to have been responsible for converting *rímur* into prose (A601 and P67). Section 2.2 discusses the manuscripts mainly in the hand of Ásgeir Jónsson

1. For competing perspectives on the relationships between these manuscripts, see Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda'. It should be noted here that B4859 was dismissed by both Andrews and Kölbing as worthless, while L222 was most likely unknown to them; both manuscripts are included in my analysis based on the chronological criteria.

(ca. 1657–1707),[2] a scribe known primarily for his work for Torfæus from 1688 onwards (A193, A587, and T1768). Section 2.3 discusses the manuscripts in the hand of Jón Þórðarson, one of the scribes of Magnús Jónsson í Vigur (A345, B4859, and L222).[3]

Table 2.1: Oldest manuscripts of *17HsG*

Siglum	Shelfmark	Date[4]	Scribe
A601	AM 601 b 4to	1683–1687	Jón Eggertsson
P67	Papp. Fol. nr 67	1687	Jón Eggertsson
A587	AM 587 b 4to	1686–1688	Ásgeir Jónsson & Eyjólfur Björnsson
T1768	Thott 1768 4to	1686–1697	Ásgeir Jónsson
A193	AM 193 e fol.	1690–1697	Ásgeir Jónsson
A345	AM 345 4to	1695	Jón Þórðarson
B4859	BL Add. 4859	1695	Jón Þórðarson
L222	Lbs 222 fol.	1695	Jón Þórðarson

2. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:91–92.

3. All manuscript descriptions are based on those available in the *Stories for all time* catalogue (http://fasnl.net) and *Handrit* (http://handrit.org), unless otherwise specified, and are expanded by my first-hand observations of the manuscripts.

4. The dates given in this column are, whenever possible to establish, the dates of copying of *17HsG*; otherwise, the broader dating of the manuscripts is provided.

2.1 Jón Eggertsson's group

AM 601 b 4to (A601)

AM 601 b 4to (A601), held in Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, is a paper manuscript in quarto. It is broadly dated by Kålund to the seventeenth century.[5] The manuscript consists of 10 leaves of watermarked paper gathered in two quires (I^4–II^{4+2}). The structure of quire II is as follows: (5+8, 6+7, 9, 10).[6]

The material analysis of the manuscript suggests that it is made of recycled paper. The paper probably originates from some book of records or accounts, as the sheets have the written area marked for folio format. Additionally, there are traces of older foliation oriented for folio format in the corners of some leaves; for example, ff. 6+7 have the number 176 and ff. 5+8 have the number 177.

A601 preserves only two *rímur*-based sagas, *17HsG* (ff. 1r–6r) and *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 6v–10v). Both texts are accompanied by Árni Magnússon's notes that specify that these texts are based on the *rímur*. For both sagas, A601 has been suggested as the best-text manuscript.[7] The text of *17HsG* in A601 is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, see further discussion in Section 2.4.

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout, and the hand can be identified as that of Jón Eggertsson (ca. 1643–1689), whom we have already encountered in the previous chapter. There we have learned that Jón Eggertsson, in the years 1682–1683, was collecting manuscripts in Iceland for the Swedish *Antikvitet-*

5. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:769.

6. The fifth and sixth leaves of this quire (ff. 9 and 10 of the manuscript) were never one conjoint leaf, as f. 9 has no watermark, while f. 10 has a partial watermark. These two leaves are currently attached with a piece of Japanese paper to the first leaf of the gathering (f. 5). Previously, they were glued together. It is possible that the manuscript originally consisted of three binions, and the third quire consisted of 9+*12, 10+*11. I would like to thank Natasha Fazlic and Mustafa Kamal from Den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling in Copenhagen for their help in determining the quire structure of this manuscript when it was on loan in Copenhagen in 2018.

7. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda'; Hooper, '*Bragða-Ǫlvis saga* Now First Edited'; Hooper, 'Bragða Ǫlvis saga and rímur'. Teresa Dröfn Njarðvík is currently working on her doctoral project devoted to *Bragða-Ölvis saga*.

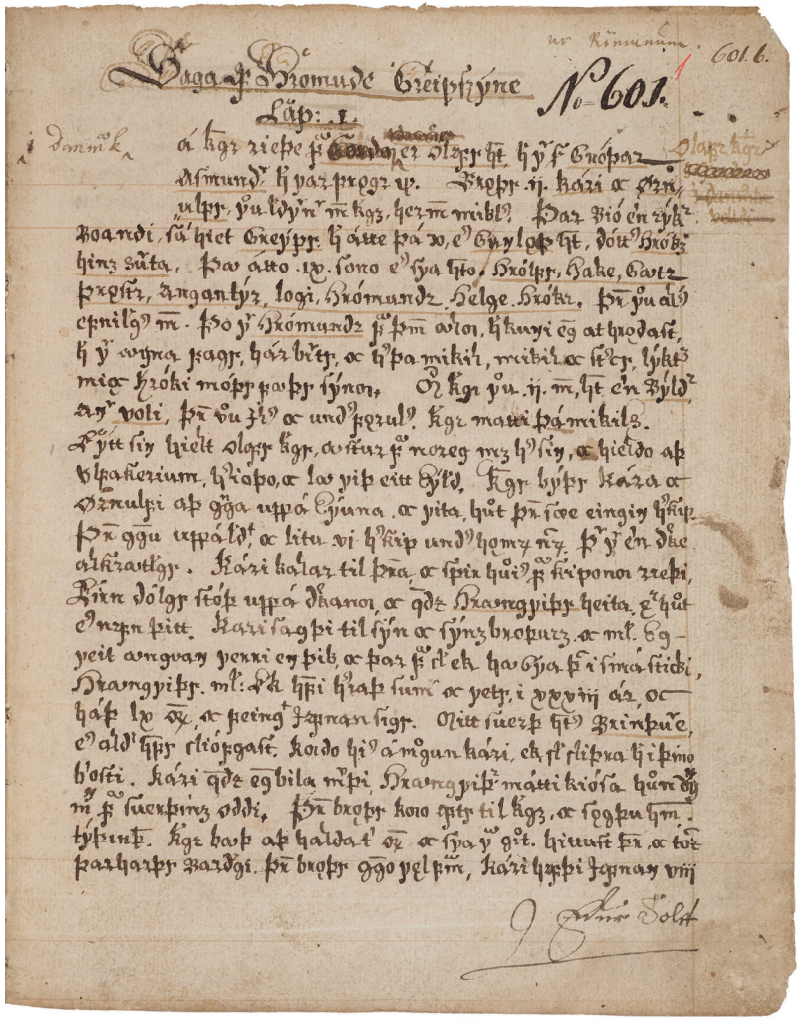

Figure 2.1: Beginning of *17HsG* in AM 601 b 4to, f. 1r
(Photo: *Handrit.org*)

skollegium. He also copied a remarkable number of manuscripts while he was in prison in Copenhagen in the years 1684–1687.[8] Based on his lifespan, the date of writing of A601 could be narrowed down to ca. 1660–89. However, when we take into account the chronology of his scholarly enterprise, especially the fact that he first obtained a manuscript of *Griplur* during his visit to Iceland (*JE 27 4to, discussed in Section 1.2), it is safe to assume that Jón wrote the manuscript at some point between 1683 and 1687, when the copy of *17HsG* in P67 was made.

There is a number of marginal notes accompanying the text of *17HsG*, some of which are approximately from the time of writing of the manuscript, and appear to be written in the same hand and with the same ink as the main text.[9] Others most likely post-date the writing of the main text but appear still to be in the main scribe's hand. There are also scholarly marginalia, some of them from Árni Magnússon's time and in his own hand, while others appear to be younger. The list of marginal notes includes the content-related marginalia and corrections in the main scribe's hand:

- 'Olafr k*on*gr | *illegible* | j danm*er*kr | velldi' (f. 1r) (Figure 2.1);
- 'helgi | frækni' ((f. 1v), which refers to the underlined text introducing Helgi, same practice in many of the cases below;
- 'Þa v*or*u | 2 k*ongar* J | Suyþiod | hietu baþ*er* | Halldin*ar* | NB Cp. 3.' (f. 1v), which refers to the underlined name of Sweden and the third chapter of the saga, in which kings from Sweden challenge Ólafur to battle;
- 'máni kall' (f. 1v);
- 'va*ll*and | Þráin*n*' (f. 2r);
- 'Seming*ur* | k*on*gr J | Suiþiod' (f. 3r);
- 'xxiv' (f. 3r), addition made in the same ink as the main text probably at the time of writing;
- 'Su*er*þid | Mistillteirn' (f. 3r);

8. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*, 93–96; Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 44; Bjarni Einarsson, 'Om Jón Eggertsson, Antikvitetskollegiets islandske agent. Et trehundredeårsminde', xiv, xxxi; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:85–86.

9. The conclusion regarding the ink used in the margins is based on multi spectral analysis, see Kapitan and Stegmann, 'Writing, Correcting and Annotating AM 601 b 4to: Material and Multispectral Analysis'.

- 'sinz | rijkis' (f. 3r), a correction made probably at the time of writing, substituting the deleted 'danmerkr';
- 'k*on*gz sistr | dagni, | suan|huyt' (f. 3r);
- 'helgi brod*er* | hraungv*itz*' (f. 3v);
- 'vatniþ | væn*er* | v*ar* fro[z*it*] | oc lá yz | yf*er*' (f. 3v);
- 'kara | fri*ll*a | helga' (f. 4r);
- 'kara do' (f. 4r);
- 'Hrom*un*dr | Rifiar | saman | kvid sin*n*' (f. 4v);
- 'hrom*un*d*ur* | misti Sv*er*þ | sitt ofan | um ys' (f. 4v);
- 'Hagall kall' (f. 4v);
- 'J Geddo | maga | fanst | Mistill|teirn' (f. 5r);
- 'Blindr | er hiet | Bauvys | leytar Hrom*un*d*ar*' (f. 5r);
- 'Blind | dreymdi' (f. 5r);
- 'og a*ll*a k*on*gs | m*enn*' (f. 5v), an addition made at the time of writing;

the origin and content-oriented marginalia in Árni's hand:

- 'ur Rïmunum' (f. 1r);
- 'i danm*ö*rk' (f. 1r);
- 'mendacium est þ*et*ta er teked ur Rimunum' (f. 6r);

other marginalia, related to the cataloguing of the manuscript:

- 'No_601.' (f. 1r), most likely by Jón Ólafsson;
- '601b' (f. 1r), most likely by Jón Ólafsson;
- foliation in red ink, most likely by Kålund.

The majority of the marginal notes in Jón Eggertsson's hand are navigational aids, which make it easier to find passages of interest.[10] They give us insight into Jón Eggertsson's reception of this story, as to which episodes he found interesting or important enough, so that he wanted to be able to easily find them in the text. The marginal notes by Árni Magnússon focus on the origin of the story. The note on f. 6r, 'mendacium est. þ*et*ta er teked ur Rimunum' (it is a lie this is taken from the *rímur*), refers to the information provided by the postscript of the saga, which is discussed in Section 2.4 (Figure 2.2). This marginal note together with the note on the first leaf, 'ur Rïmunum' (from the *rímur*), suggest that

10. By navigational aids, I mean notes that facilitate the navigation of the text and location of relevant passages; these are also referred to as finding aids, for example in Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 43–45.

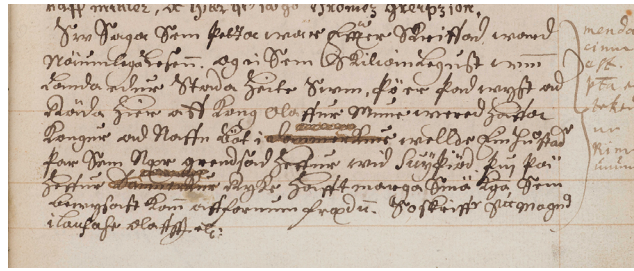

Figure 2.2: Postscript following *17HsG* in AM 601 b 4to, f. 6r (Photo: *Handrit.org*)

Árni knew, or was convinced, that the text in A601 is a reworking of the *rímur*.

It is unknown when exactly A601 joined the collection of Árni Magnússon, but it was already there at the time when Jón Ólafsson prepared his catalogue of the Arnamagnæan Collection. The catalogue is preserved in AM 456 fol. and AM 477 fol., and according to its record, A601 was part of manuscript number 601 in quarto (to which I refer as *AM 601 4to).[11] According to the catalogue, this manuscript contained 'Efne (edur innehalld) ur nockrum Rimum' (AM 456 fol., f. 24r), including the summary of the following: *Ásmundar rímur og Tryggva*,[12] *Ormars rímur Framarssonar*, *Grims rímur og Hjálmars*, *Úlfhams rímur*, *Sigurðar rímur Fornasonar* (today in AM 601 a 4to), *Hrómundar rímur* and *Bragða-Ölvis rímur* (together in A601), *Þóris háleggs rímur* (AM 601 c 4to), *Skjaldar þáttur Danakonungs* (AM 601 d 4to). Considering the heterogeneous nature of the individual parts, it is clear that *AM 601 4to was a composite manuscript. Given the chronology of some of its parts, it is probably safe to assume that *AM 601 4to was a result of Árni's enterprise to aggregate texts dealing with the contents of various sets of *rímur*.

11. As previously mentioned, my naming practice of former codices is inspired by that introduced by Beeke Stegmann in her 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts'; I add the asterisk in front of the siglum to make disambiguation easier.

12. This part is today either lost or a part of another manuscript, perhaps AM 576 b 4to, but this requires further investigation.

From Árni Magnússon's correspondence, we know that he was interested in receiving prose summaries of the contents of *rímur*. Prose summaries were probably easier to use in his examination of intertextual relationships between various Old Norse-Icelandic stories than works written in the poetic form of *rímur*.[13] It is unknown when the individual parts got separated, or in fact, whether the individual parts registered as *AM 601 4to were ever bound into a single volume. Regardless, A601 remained in Copenhagen until 1975, when it was transferred to Iceland.

Papp. Fol. nr 67 (P67)

Papp. Fol. nr 67 (P67), held in Kungliga biblioteket in Stockholm, is a paper manuscript in folio format, which consists of iii+178+iv leaves of watermarked paper.[14] P67 is dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, but the date 1687 is attested twice on f. 2r.[15] It appears first on the right margin, written probably in the main scribe's hand 'Skrifaþor ept*ir* | miög gamlri | Membrana | Kiöbenhafn | An*n*o 1687' (Written after a very old parchment manuscript, Copenhagen 1687). It appears again on top of the same page in a marginal note regarding the acquisition of the manuscript: 'ankommit från Copenhagen 5 Octob:| Anno 1687 | 45 Drk' (arrived from Copenhagen on 5 October 1687. 45 riksdaler).

P67 preserves twenty two sagas, short tales, *rímur*, some riddles, and excerpts. They appear in the following order: *Stjörnu-Odda draumur* (ff. 2r–11r), *Bergbúa þáttur* (ff. 11v–13r), *Kumlbúa þáttur* (ff. 13v–14r), *Draumur Þorsteins Síðu-Hallssonar* (ff. 14r–14v), *Svarfdæla saga* (ff. 15r–55r), *Valla-Ljóts saga* (ff. 56r–71r), *Ævintýr af einum bónda og einum fugli* (ff. 71v), *Ævintýr af tveimur kaupmönnum* (ff. 72r–73r), *Ævintýr af þremur stallbræðrum*(ff. 73v), *Filipórímur* (ff. 74r–90v), two riddles (ff. 90v), various verses, including stan-

13. Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, *Úlfhams saga*, l; Kapitan and Lavender, 'The Prose Summary as Antiquarian Tool and Literary Springboard: An Edition and Translation of Ormars Þáttur Framarsonar', 101–102.

14. The quire structure of the manuscript is irregular and could not be examined due to tight binding. It seems like quaternions and ternions dominate. I would like to thank Patrik Granholm and Christina Svensson from Kungliga biblioteket for their help with the physical examination of this manuscript.

15. Gödel, *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och fornnorska handskrifter*, 196–199.

zas from *Grettis saga* and *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* (ff. 91v), *Gríms rímur og Hjálmars* (ff. 92v–101v), *17HsG* (ff. 102v–116v), *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 117v–128v), *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* (ff. 129v–144v), *Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings* (ff. 148v–151v), *Þorsteins saga hvíta* (ff. 152v–167v), *Albanus saga Vígvaldssonar* (ff. 168r–179v).

The leaves at the beginning of the codex, ff. 1–91, are written on both sides, but in the later part, ff. 92–179, the texts are written mainly on the verso side, leaving the rectos blank. The blank side was probably intended for a Swedish or Latin translation of the text which was never supplied.[16] There are other known manuscripts which preserve multilingual texts of the sagas, and this seems to be typical of antiquarian manuscripts from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For example, Papp. fol. nr 73, dated to 1738, preserves *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Ketils saga hængs*, and *Örvar-Odds saga*, with the Old Norse-Icelandic text on the verso side and a Swedish translation on the recto side; Papp. fol. nr 90, dated to 1683–1720, preserves *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* written in two columns, Old Norse-Icelandic on the left-hand column and Swedish on the right-hand column; similarly Papp. fol. nr 88, dated to 1683–1691, preserves *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* written in two columns with Old Norse and Swedish side by side.

On f. 1r of P67, there is a table of contents which starts with the words: 'Registur Jfer Þat Sem ä Hier medfilgiande. 28 Ørkum Finst Skrifadt' (Register over this, which can be found written on the following 28 sheets), followed by a list of the first five sagas included in the extant manuscript. In the right margin, there is the note 'skrifad Epter miög gamlri Membrana' (written after a very old parchment manuscript), emphasising that the volume contains ancient texts. The items listed in the table of contents and the introductory note mentioning 28 sheets of paper suggest that the codex originally contained, or was supposed to contain, only 56 leaves in folio format, so 28 sheets of paper, preserving these five *Íslendingasögur* and *Íslendingaþættir*, but the final product that reached Stockholm in 1687 was extended by additional texts. The table of contents on f. 1r continues and lists the remaining texts in the volume, but this

16. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*, 134.

part of the table of contents is written in a different script type and perhaps also in a different hand.

P67 is written in one main hand, which can be identified as that of Jón Eggertsson, thanks to the slip of paper with a note in Johan Hadorph's hand identifying Jón as the scribe.[17] The analysis of the corpus copied by Jón conducted by Jucknies also confirms this attribution. Jucknies observed that P67 is a copy of A601 and that it clearly had to be intended for a Swedish audience. The script type is much clearer than in A601, the abbreviations are expanded and the language is slightly adjusted, making P67 easier to read for non-Icelanders.[18]

The text of *17HsG* is accompanied by marginalia in Guðmundur Ólafsson's (1652–95) hand, who might also be responsible for underlining person and place names in the text. The marginalia are listed below:

- 'Ölafur köngur | i GardaRïke, | son Gnodar- | Äsmundar.' (f. 102v);
- 'NB. | Hrökur hin*n* | svarte: Gun*n*lód döttler han*n*s. | Hrömundur | Gripsson | *og* b*rædur* h*ans* v*oru* hen*nar* s*ynir*' (f. 102v);
- '~~Hromund*ur* Gripsson~~ helge hin fräkne | landvarnar madur | i Sviþiod.' (f. 104v);
- 'Þräinn | köngur i | Vallande' (f. 106v);
- 'Semingur | köngur i Svijlþiöd' (f. 108r);
- 'halldingar, e*dur* | Haddingar | tveir köng*ar* | i Svijþiöd: | *og* Helge hin*n* | frækne, Bröder | Hraungvidz.' (f. 109v);
- 'Kära | Galldrakolna' (f. 110v);
- 'Hagall | kall. ' (f. 112v).

Additionally, the text is followed by a short note, which specifies that Hrómundur is mentioned in chapter 2 of *Flóamanna saga*. These annotations give us insight into Guðmundur Ólafsson's reception of the saga at the time when he was working for the Swedish *Antikvitetskollegium*. He was clearly interested in the Swedish aspects of the story, as well as in names of various kings mentioned in the

17. Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige I: Till Antikvitetskollegiets inrättande*, 206–207; Gödel, *Katalog öfver Kongl. bibliotekets fornisländska och fornnorska handskrifter*, 198–199.

18. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*, 96.

saga. Interestingly, he does not annotate Ólafur's sisters' names, as Jón Eggertsson does in A601, but he does so with the name of Kára, whom he describes as 'Galldrakona' (the sorceress). Clearly, Kára, as Helgi's mistress, is more relevant for the Swedish audience because Helgi is presented as a *landvarnarmaður* (defender of the land) in Sweden.

Regarding the provenance of P67, as previously mentioned, the manuscript arrived in Stockholm in 1687, shortly after the texts preserved in it were copied. It is still in Stockholm, where the manuscript can be found today.

2.2 Ásgeir Jónsson's group

AM 587 b 4to (A587)

AM 587 b 4to (A587), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, which consists of 11 leaves gathered in two quires (I^4, II^8 wants 8).[19] The first quire is made of watermarked paper, while the second quire is made of thicker paper without any watermarks. Kålund dated the manuscript to ca. 1700.[20] According to Már Jónsson, however, the manuscript was written in the years 1686–1688,[21] or ca. 1688.[22]). The manuscript preserves only one text, *17HsG*, written on ff. 1–11.

A587 is written in two hands, and the hand shift overlaps with the quire boundary. The first four leaves are written by Ásgeir Jónsson (ca. 1657–1707),[23] while the remaining leaves are written by Eyjólfur Björnsson (1666–1746), a priest and scribe known mainly for his work for Árni Magnússon.[24] The text of *17HsG* itself is, however, continuous and is written in one script type, i.e. chancery.

19. The structure of quire II is as follows: 5, 6+11, 7+10, 8+9. It is most likely that it used to be a regular quaternion, so the first leaf of the gathering (f. 5) was conjoint with *f. 12.

20. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:748–749.

21. Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal', 285.

22. Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*, 79.

23. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:91–92.

24. Páll Eggert Ólason, I:451–452.

It is worth noting that in the part written by Ásgeir, the dominating shapes of the letters 's' and 'b' – which are believed to have a clear chronological development in Ásgeir Jónsson's hand – are the 's' type 70 and 'b' type 35. These are contemporary with the letter forms in, for example, AM 38 fol., dated to before 1698.[25]

Már Jónsson suggests that the manuscript was written during the time when both Ásgeir Jónsson and Eyjólfur Björnsson were in Copenhagen, so between 1687 and 1688.[26] The hand shift in the middle of a text could equally well suggest a simultaneous collaboration between the two scribes, or a chronological development of the manuscript. It is easy to imagine a scenario in which Ásgeir Jónsson started copying the text of *17HsG*, but then left it unfinished when he left for Norway in 1688, and Eyjólfur Björnsson completed the transcription at a later point.

Considering the history of this manuscript, however, the simultaneous collaboration seems to be a more likely scenario. A587 joined the collection of Árni Magnússon in 1720, together with other manuscripts Árni acquired from the widow of Torfæus. At that time, it was part of Torfæus' manuscript number XIII in 4to (henceforth *TT XIII 4to).[27] There are traces of older pagination, from 253 on f. 1r to 274 on f. 11v, which probably reflect the position of *17HsG* in Torfæus' manuscript. *TT XIII 4to contained multiple texts written by both, Ásgeir Jónsson and Eyjólfur Björnsson. Among these texts was, for example, *Stjörnu-Odda draumur*, today preserved in AM 555 i 4to.[28] In the case of AM 555 i 4to, the first ten leaves of the manuscript are in Eyjólfur's hand and the remaining six are in Ásgeir's hand, the opposite situation to that observed in A587. While research into former codices owned by Torfæus is still ongoing, as part of my current research project, it seems quite likely that Ásgeir and Eyjólfur collaborated simultaneously on the production of *TT XIII 4to.[29]

25. J. G. Jørgensen, *The Lost Vellum Kringla*, 237–238.

26. Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal'; Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus (1663-1730)*.

27. Kålund, *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 77–78.

28. Kålund, 78.

29. My current project, 'Virtual Library of Torfæus: Manuscripts of Old Norse texts owned by the royal historiographer Thormodus Torfæus', examines the dis-

As research by Beeke Stegmann demonstrated, *TT XIII 4to was rearranged by Árni and eventually various parts of the manuscript either were made into separate manuscripts (i.e., today's AM 483 4to, AM 554 f 4to, AM 555 i 4to, A587, and AM 359 a 4to), became parts of other manuscripts (today's AM 1008 4to), or are lost. At the time when Jón Ólafsson prepared his catalogue, preserved in AM 456 fol. and AM 477 fol., A587 was part of manuscript number 587 in quarto (*AM 587 4to), which contained *fornaldarsögur* and *þættir*: two copies of *Hróa þáttur heimska*, *17HsG*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *Sörla saga sterka*, *Áns saga bogsveigis* and two copies of *Sörla þáttur*. *17HsG* was the only part of *AM 587 4to that originated from *TT XIII 4to.[30]

It is worth mentioning here that A587 contains a marginal note in Torfæus's hand on f. 5v which reads: 'Svanhuita Dag|ny Systur Olafs | Kongs, Saga aff | Gaungu-Hrolfi | seiga bædi Olaff | kong er þær born | hans en*n* ecke Gno|0ar] asmundar' (Svanhvít, Dagný sisters of King Ólafur. According to the saga of Göngu-Hrólfur, Ólafur and his sisters are his children, not Gnoðar-Ásmundur's.) This comment deals with the royal genealogies of Scandinavia, revealing Torfæus' interest in the contents of the story. As discussed in Section 1.2, we know that Torfæus had been interested in the story about Hrómundur at least since 1684 when he wrote a letter to Torfi Jónsson in which he asked for some information about various sagas, including the story about Hrómundur. Here, Torfæus observes that the account of *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* regarding Ólafur's and his sisters' father is different from the account in *17HsG*. In *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, it is Hrólfur, while in *17HsG* it is Gnoðar-Ásmundur. The text of the saga is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, which is discussed further in Section 2.4.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that this manuscript, written in Copenhagen at the end of the seventeenth century, after a short period in Norway, eventually returned to Copenhagen. It was

persed manuscripts previously owned by Torfæus. The project is funded by the Carlsberg Foundation (grant number CF20-0225) and hosted at the University of Oxford.

30. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 83–90, 312.

housed at the Arnamagnæan Collection until its transfer to Iceland in 1982.

Thott 1768 4to (T1768)

Thott 1768 4to (T1768), held in Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of ii+294+ii leaves gathered in thirty-eight irregular quires (mostly quaternions and ternions) made of watermarked paper. The quire structure is I^{6}, II^{10}, III^{12}, IV^{8}–V^{8}, VI^{6}, VII^{8}–$XVII^{8}$, $XVIII^{6}$–XX^{6}, XXI^{8}, $XXII^{6}$–$XXIII^{6}$, $XXIV^{8}$–$XXVI^{8}$, $XXVII^{10}$, $XXVIII^{8}$–$XXIX^{8}$, XXX^{6}–$XXXI^{6}$, $XXXII^{8}$–$XXXIII^{8}$, $XXXIV^{6}$, $XXXV^{8}$–$XXXVII^{8}$, $XXXVIII^{10}$. Kålund dated the manuscript to the end of the seventeenth century, but there have been multiple attempts to date various parts of this manuscript more precisely.[31] No study of the complete manuscript, however, yet exists.

T1768 contains fifteen sagas, mainly *Íslendingasögur* and *Íslendingaþættir*, but also *fornaldarsögur*, one *riddarasaga*, and some short tales. The texts appear in this order: *Frá Fornjóti og hans ættmönnum* (ff. 1r–4r), table of contents (ff. 4v–5r),[32] *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* (ff. 7r–16v), *Þorðar saga hreðu* (ff. 17r–49v),[33] *Svarfdæla saga* (ff. 51r–94v),[34] *Flóamanna saga* (ff. 99r–129v),[35] *Hreiðars þáttur heimska* (ff. 131r–139v), *Sneglu-Halla þáttur* (ff. 140r–149r),[36] *Brandkrossa þáttur* (ff. 151r–156v), *Droplaugarsona saga* (ff. 157r–177v), *Fóstbræðra saga* (ff. 178r–232v), *Völsa þáttur* (ff. 233r–238r),[37] *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* (ff. 239r–259v),[38] *17HsG* (ff. 261r–268v), *Hróa þáttur heimska* (ff. 269r–276v), *Möttuls saga* (ff. 277r–294v).

31. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, 343–344; Loth, *Membrana regia deperdita*, xxxiii; Loth, 'Om nogle af Ásgeir Jónssons håndskrifter', 210; Seelow, 'Ásgeir Jónsson und seine 'membranagtige' Frakturschrift.', 662; Seelow, *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, 59; J. G. Jørgensen, *The Lost Vellum Kringla*, 238; Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal', 285.

32. Ff. 5v–6v are left blank.

33. F. 50r–v is left blank.

34. Ff. 95r–98v are left blank.

35. F. 130r–v is left blank.

36. Ff. 149v–150v are left blank.

37. F. 238v is left blank.

38. F. 260r–v is left blank.

The main bulk of the manuscript was written by Ásgeir Jónsson, but it appears clear that various parts of the manuscript were written at different times, as three different script types were used.[39] Only one text in T1768, *Flóamanna saga*, is dated, thanks to the colophon which states that the saga was finished on 2 June 1687 in Copenhagen. Based on the overlaps between text and quire boundaries, we can distinguish twelve production units, and *17HsG* establishes one of them. The text is written on a single quire (XXXV) in Kurrent script, which according to Verri was Ásgeir's 'original' or 'default' script.[40] The text of *17HsG* is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, further discussed in Section 2.4.

Elsewhere in the manuscript, there are additions in the hand of Jón Ólafsson Grunnvíkingur (1705–79), who examined this manuscript around 1754, as the note on f. 5r indicates.[41] The additions include two tables of contents on ff. 4v–5r, which make a very interesting example of saga classification and reflect Jón's reception of these sagas. If we take the table of contents at face value, we can conclude that Jón saw some of the stories included in this volume as historical sources, but others as fiction. On f. 4v there is an incomplete list of sagas included in the volume,[42] which starts with the header 'Personæ videntúr forté exstitisse' (Persons who seem perhaps to have existed), where the sagas are grouped by geographical area, first Norway, then Sweden, followed by Denmark, and finally Iceland. Icelandic sagas are divided into three subcategories: the northern group, the eastern group, and the southern group. *17HsG* appears under the heading of Swedish sagas and is the only representative of this group. On f. 5r there is another table of contents, in which all the sagas are listed in the order in which they appear

39. Cf. Loth, *Membrana regia deperdita*, xxxiii. It's worth noting that already in Nyerup's catalogue, the manuscript is listed as 'Sagæ Islandicæ, cum indice ad frontem, scriptæ manu Asgeiri, Thormodi Torfæi librarii.' (Icelandic sagas, with an index at the beginning, written in the hand of Ásgeir, Torfæus' amanuensis), Nyerup, *Catalogi Bibliothecæ Thottianæ*, 475.

40. Verri, 'Um rithendur Ásgeirs Jónssonar: Nokkrar skriftarfræðilegar athugasemdir', 246, 248.

41. Kapitan, 'Between Truth and Fiction', 121.

42. It is not certain whether this list is incomplete or some of the texts were intentionally missing, but *Hreiðars þáttur heimska*, *Sneglu-Halla þáttur*, *Brandkrossa þáttur*, *Fóstbræðra saga* and *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* are missing from the list on f. 4v but are present on f. 5r.

in T1768. In that list, *17HsG* is accompanied by two comments: 'Sveco-Russ' and 'vera forté aliqvatenus'. *17HsG* is classified as a saga dealing with Swedish and Russian contents which is 'to some extent probably true'. The comment 'vera forté aliqvatenus', which was used to describe *17HsG*, lies somewhere in the middle of Jón's spectrum of historicity, which spans from 'pudendúm figmentúm' (shameful fiction) on one side of the spectrum, used for *Völsa þáttur*, and 'vera' on the other side, used for *Fóstbræðra saga*.[43]

The ownership history of T1768 is uncertain, and it remains unclear when and how exactly it found its way into Otto Thott's (1703–1785) collection. According to Loth, this transfer likely occurred between 1754 and 1785.[44] Loth suggested that the manuscript had to be in Iceland for some time, as fragments of Icelandic letters were used as paste-downs. She further proposed that the manuscript returned to Copenhagen around 1784/5. Although this remains speculative and warrants further research, it is certain that the manuscript became part of Det Kongelige Bibliotek's collections in 1786, alongside over 4000 other bequeathed manuscripts..[45]

AM 193 e fol. (A193)

AM 193 e fol. (A193), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in folio which consists of i+8+i leaves of watermarked paper gathered in one quire of four conjoint leaves (I^8). The leaves are paginated 1–16 in similar ink to the main text, probably by the main scribe, and foliated 1–8 in red ink most likely by Kålund. In his catalogue, Kålund dated the manuscript to ca. 1700, but according to Már Jónsson the dating can be narrowed down to the years 1690–1697.[46]

A193 today preserves only one text, *17HsG* (ff. 1r–8v). The text is written in one hand throughout. The hand can be identified

43. For a discussion of how Jón's saga classification relates to other early modern classifications, see Kapitan, 'Between Truth and Fiction'.

44. Loth, *Membrana regia deperdita*, xxxiv.

45. Toftgaard, 'Landkort over en samling: Hvad katalogposterne kan fortælle om Otto Thotts håndskriftsamling – og om katalogisering', 144; Toftgaard, 'A Private Library as a Material History of the Book: Otto Thott's Encyclopedic Library in Copenhagen', 62.

46. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:160; Már Jónsson, 'Skrifarinn Ásgeir Jónsson frá Gullberastöðum í Lundarreykjadal', 285.

as that of Ásgeir Jónsson. The script type used in A193 is chancery, which is one of the script types frequently used by Ásgeir.[47] The dominating shapes of the letters 's' and 'b', which allow us to establish relative chronology in Ásgeir's manuscripts, are *b35* and *s70*, similar to those found in A587.[48]

There is a marginal note on f. 1r of A193 in Torfæus's hand which reads: 'con*fers* Saga af | alfi og alfsreck*um* | hrokr var ein af koppu*m* alfs er | atte brynhilde haka | kongs dottur' (compare Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka, Hrókur was one of the champions of Hálfur that had as a wife Brynhild daughter of King Haki). This again, just as in A587, reflects Torfæus's interests in historiography and royal genealogies. Torfæus noted here that the account of *17HsG* should be compared with the account of *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, in which the relation between Hrómundur and Hrókur is made explicit in chapter 16.[49] Furthermore, the text of the saga is followed by a note that discusses the hypothetical exemplar, discussed further in Section 2.4.

A193 joined the collection of Árni Magnússon in 1720 together with other manuscripts Árni acquired from the widow of Torfæus. At that time, it was a part of Torfæus' manuscript number XIII in folio (*TT XIII fol.).[50] The entry in Árni's catalogue for this part of the manuscript reads: 'Hromundar Saga Greips sonar (epter exemplare med hendi Eyolfs Biorns sonar komnu fra mier)'.[51] This comment indicates that A193 is a copy of a manuscript in Eyjólfur Björnsson's hand which was perhaps in Árni's possession, most likely A587 (see textual evidence in Section 2.4).

*TT XIII fol. contained various texts, mainly *fornaldarsögur* and *konungasögur*, but, as Stegmann demonstrated, it was rearranged by Árni. Ultimately, various parts of the manuscript either became separate single-text codices, i.e. today's AM 67 a fol., AM 202 c fol., AM 193 a fol., AM 193 b fol., AM 193 c

47. Verri, 'Um rithendur Ásgeirs Jónssonar: Nokkrar skriftarfræðilegar athugasemdir'.

48. J. G. Jørgensen, *The Lost Vellum Kringla*, 237–238.

49. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, II:59.

50. Kålund, *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 70–71; see also Árni's notes in e.g. AM 173 fol. and AM 202 c fol.

51. Kålund, 70.

fol., A193, AM 7 fol., AM 17 fol., or parts of other composite manuscripts, i.e. today's AM 34 fol., AM 173 fol., or are lost.[52] At the time when Jón Ólafsson prepared his catalogue, A193 was a part of a manuscript number 193 in folio (*AM 193 fol.), which contained five *fornaldarsögur*: *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (AM 193 a fol.), *Eiríks saga víðförla* (AM 193 b fol.), *Yngvars saga víðförla* (AM 193 c fol.), *17HsG*, and *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (AM 193 d fol.) (A477, f. 9v). Four of these items were previously parts of *TT XIII fol., but *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* was added from another Torfæan manuscript, *TT XVI fol.[53]

Just like A587, A193 was held in Copenhagen until it was transferred to Iceland in 1976.

2.3 Jón Þórðarson's group

AM 345 4to (A345)

AM 345 4to (A345), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, which consists of i+78+i leaves made of watermarked paper gathered in eleven quires. The quire structure is: I^{6}, II^{2}, III^{8}–VI_{8}, VII^{10}, $VIII^{8}$–X^{8}, XI^{4}.[54] The manuscript is dated by Kålund to the end of the seventeenth century, but internal evidence allows us to date it more precisely to around 1694–1695.[55] *17HsG* is followed by a colophon that reads 'Anno 1695' (f. 78v). Elsewhere in the manuscript, two other dated colophons can be found, on f. 50v with the date 1694 and on f. 74r with 1695.

52. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 335; Kålund, *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 70–71.

53. Kålund, *Arne Magnussons i AM. 435 A-B, 4to indeholdte håndskriftfortegnelser med to tillæg*, 72; Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 91.

54. The structure of quire V is uncertain; it seems to be 25, 26, 27, 28+29, 30, 31, 32, so the outer leaves used to be conjoint, but today are singletons and only the innermost bifolium remained intact. Cf. Stegmann's catalogue on http://chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk (last accessed 28/08/2018, but currently unavailable as of 7/01/2024).

55. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, 580.

A345 is a composite manuscript, containing five *fornaldarsögur*: *Áns saga bogsveigis* (ff. 1r–8v), *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (ff. 9r–29v), a supplied table of contents (f. 29v),[56] *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (ff. 30r–50r), *Bósa saga og Herrauðs* (ff. 50v–74r) *17HsG* (ff. 74v–78v).

The manuscript is written in three hands, but by a single scribe using three different script types: chancery, Kurrent and a hybrid of the two.[57] On f. 29v there is a table of contents which lists the sagas included in the book and a note written by Jón Jónsson in which he specifies that in 1703 he owned this codex and that the table of contents was added by his deceased father Jón Þórðarson in 1700 or 1702.[58] The scribe can be identified as Jón Þórðarson, a son of Þórður Jónsson. Both father and son worked as scribes for, among others, Magnús Jónsson í Vigur.[59] This does not mean, however, that the manuscript was written for Magnús Jónsson. As Jón Helgason observed, not all manuscripts in Þórður's and Jón's hands can be associated with Magnús. At least Þórður is known to have provided services for other people, for example, Magnús Magnússon (1630–1704), a *sýslumaður* from Eyri in Ísafjarðarsýsla, for whom he wrote Lbs 236 fol.[60]

The most recent study of this manuscript and its history was presented by Stegmann, who observed that A345 consists of three codicological units, and *17HsG*, together with *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* and *Bósa saga og Herrauðs*, belongs to the third codicological unit.[61] All of these texts used to belong to one codex, called in Árni's catalogue 'bok Markusar Bergslsonar i 4to'

56. 'Sogu Registur', which lists 29 sagas, is followed by a note and date Anno 1703.

57. Kålund identified three hands in the manuscript, Kålund, 580; Stegmann successfully argued for all three script types being used by one scribe, Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 77–79.

58. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, 580; Loth, 'Angående skriveren Jón Þórðarson'; Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 79–80.

59. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 77–79.

60. Jón Helgason, *Kvæðabók úr Vigur, AM 148, 8°*, 12–13. For Magnús Magnússon's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:443.

61. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 74–90.

(AM 435 a 4to, f. 80r). As Árni's note indicates (AM 435 a 4to, f. 82r), he received this manuscript in 1710 from Markús Bergsson (1688–1741), a *sýslumaður* of Ísafjarðarsýsla and rearranged its contents.[62]

At the time when Jón Ólafsson was composing his catalogue, *17HsG* was a part of a manuscript number 345 in 4to (*AM 345 4to), which contained eight sagas, the five already mentioned, which are preserved in A345, and additionally three other *fornaldarsögur* which are now lost: *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, and *Haralds saga Hringsbana* (AM 456 fol. f. 18r and AM 477 fol., f. 29r).[63]

A345 was held in Copenhagen until it was transferred to Iceland in 1982.

BL Add. 4859 (B4859)

BL Add. 4859 (B4859), held in the British Library in London, is a paper manuscript in folio, which consists of iii+370+iii leaves made of watermarked paper. The quire structure is difficult to determine, as the manuscript was rebound in the 1970s and all its leaves are set on paper guards.[64] Jón Helgason in his 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library' dated B4859 to the years 1693–1696, following the dates attested in the colophons and on the title page (f. 1r). As McDonald Werronen observed, some texts in this codex appear in the relative chronological order of writing.[65] *17HsG* is followed by a colophon dated to 1695.

B4859 preserves twenty-four sagas including *fornaldarsögur*, *riddarasögur*, *Íslendingasögur* and one *konungasaga*. The volume opens with a title page (f. 1r) followed by a table of contents on the

62. For Markús Bergsson's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:468

63. Stegmann, 'Árni Magnússon's Rearrangement of Paper Manuscripts', 84; see also the graph illustrating the changes in A345 on http://chopandchange.nfi.ku.dk (last accessed 28/08/2018, but currently unavailable as of 7/01/2024).

64. The volume can be tentatively divided into two parts; the first fourteen sagas written on ff. 2r–128v are continuously paginated 1–254; the remaining texts from 129r onwards are individually paginated, starting each time from 1.

65. McDonald Werronen, 'London, British Library', archived on 8/06/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20230608192021/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/add-4859/.

verso side of the same leaf and the sagas in the following order: *17HsG* (ff. 2r–6r), *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 6v–9v), *Valdimars saga* (ff. 10r–14v), *Mírmanns saga* (ff. 15r–31v), *Ívens saga* (ff. 32r–45v), *Parcevals saga* (ff. 46r–60v), *Valvers þáttur* (ff. 61r–65v), *Erex saga* (ff. 66r–74v), *Möttuls saga* (ff. 75r–81r), *Virgilíus saga* (ff. 81v–91r), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (ff. 91v–94r), *Hálfdanar þáttur svarta* (ff. 94v–96r), *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* (ff. 96v–118v), *Ármanns saga og Þorsteins gála* (ff. 119r–128v), *Böðvars þáttur bjarka* (ff. 129r–142r), *Söguþáttur af Kallínus* (ff. 142v–145v), *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks* (ff. 146r–162v), *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (ff. 163r–237v), *Lykla-Péturs saga og Magelónu fögru* (ff. 240r–264v), *Knýtlinga saga* (ff. 265r–312v), *Ævintýri af Sniðúlfi bónda og hans ótrú konu* (ff. 313r–313v), *Rémundar saga keisarasonar* (ff. 314r–344v), *Kirjalax saga* (ff. 344v–366r), *Sagan af Tító og Gesippo* (ff. 367r–370v).

The texts are written in two hands, the main one being that of Jón Þórðarson and the minor one being that of Magnús Ketilsson (ca. 1675–1709), who wrote ff. 1r–v, 142v–145v, 313r–v, and 367r–370.[66] Unlike A345, B4859 was certainly written for Magnús Jónsson í Vigur as it is made explicit on the title page (f. 1r) that the sagas were collected on behalf of Magnús: ' Sagna Flolckur Kostgiæfelega Sam*an* Hendt*ur* [...] af Ehrurijku*m* og ættgøfug*um* høfdings m*anne* Malgn*us*e Joonssyne Ad Wig*ur*, þe*i*m t*il* frödleiks *og* skiem*m*tun*ar*, er | þ*ess* hätt*ar* forn*ar* fra*s*aug*ur* hei*ra* vili*a*'[67] (A collection of sagas diligently put together [...] by a honourable and noble aristocrat, Magnús Jónsson from Vigur, for education and entertainment of those who wish to hear this sort of ancient stories).[68]

The ownership history of B4859 is fairly well known because the volume appears in the lists of books in the possession of

66. Jón Helgason, *Kvæðabók úr Vigur, AM 148, 8°*, 9–10; Loth, 'Om håndskrifter fra Vigur i Magnús Jónssons tid', 95–98; McDonald Werronen, 'London, British Library'.

67. A full transcription of the title page by McDonald Werronen is available in her catalogue, archived on 8/06/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20230608192021/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/add-4859/.

68. Cf. Driscoll, 'The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland', 54

Magnús's family members.[69] B4859 was owned by Páll Vídalín (1667–1727), the lawyer and acquaintance of Árni Magnússon, and by Bjarni Halldórsson (1703–1773), a *sýslumaður* of Húnavatnsþing in Northern Iceland.[70] Already in 1892, Jón Þorkelsson[71] identified B4859 as number 8 in Páll's register and number 77 in Bjarni's register and this identification has been maintained in the scholarship since then.[72] The most likely scenario for how the book ended up first in Páll's and then in Bjarni's possession is the inheritance of the book by Magnús's daughter and granddaughter. After Magnús Jónsson's death in 1702, his daughter Þorbjörg Magnúsdóttir (1667–1737) most likely inherited the volume. Since she was married to Páll Vídalín, with whom she lived at Víðidalstunga in Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla, the book was registered as his. Afterwards, their daughter Hólmfríður Pálsdóttir (1697–1736) inherited the book and since she was married from 1727 to Bjarni Halldórsson, with whom she lived first at Víðidalstunga and later from 1737 at Þingeyrar in Austur-Húnavatnssýsla, the book was registered as his.

The manuscript was donated to the British Museum (later British Library) by Joseph Banks (1743–1820), a British explorer, after his travels to Iceland in 1773.[73] His donations took place during the years 1773–1781.[74] According to Halldór Hermannsson, Banks collected some of the manuscripts while in Iceland, but others were sent to him later by Ólafur Stephensen, the governor of Iceland. From the correspondence between Banks and Ólafur Stephensen, it is certain that Ólafur not only collected manuscripts for Banks but also commissioned copies for him. Ólafur, for example, wrote in

69. Jón Þorkelsson, 'Islandske håndskrifter i England og Skotland', 201–204; Kålund, *Arne Magnussons private brevveksling*, 94–97; Jón Helgason, 'Bækur og handrit á tveimur húnvetnskum höfuðbólum á 18du öld', 5.

70. For biographies of these two men, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:169–170, IV:145–146

71. Jón Þorkelsson, 'Islandske håndskrifter i England og Skotland', 202–203.

72. Jón Helgason, 'Bækur og handrit á tveimur húnvetnskum höfuðbólum á 18du öld', 17, 35.

73. For a recent study of his travels, see Anna Agnarsdóttir, *Sir Joseph Banks, Iceland and the North Atlantic 1772-1820: Journals, Letters and Documents*.

74. Hogg, 'The Development of the Pre-1801 Scandinavian Printed Collections in the British Library'; Porter, 'Preserving the Past: England, Iceland and the Movement of Manuscripts'.

one of his letters to Banks, 'Since your departure from the country I have in accordance with the commission you gave me, taken pains to collect, and afterwards to have copied by the best scribes available in this country, antiquities and histories'.[75]

Since B4859 is number 3 in Banks's collection, we can assume that it was a part of the first donation in 1773, and possibly one of the manuscripts he collected personally during his travels. It cannot be excluded that he obtained the manuscript directly from Bjarni Halldórsson, or from his family, shortly before Bjarni's death in 1773, but there is no evidence known to me for that. To the contrary, McDonald Werronen in her catalogue, suggested that 'Banks acquired these manuscripts [among them B4859] from Ólafur Stephensen (1731–1812), who bought them for him shortly after the death of their owner Bjarni Hal[l]dórsson in January 1773.'[76]

Lbs 222 fol. (L222)

Lbs 222 fol. (L222), known as *Rauðskinna* and held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in folio, consisting of ii + 347 + ii leaves made of watermarked paper and gathered in forty-five quires, mostly quaternions. The quire structure is uncertain, but appears to be: I^{8}–IV^{8}, V^{10} VI^{8}–XXI^{8}, $XXII^{6}$ wants 6, $XXIII^{8}$, $XXIV^{4}$, XXV^{6+2} 7 and 8 after 6, $XXVI^{6}$–$XXVII^{6}$, $XXVIII^{8}$ wants 1, $XXIX^{8}$–$XXXI^{8}$, $XXXII^{4}$, $XXXIII^{8}$–$XLIV^{8}$, XLV^{8+1} 9 after 8.[77] L222 is dated to 1695–1698, 1731, and 1746, following the dates given in the colophons and on the title page.[78]

L222 contains nineteen items including *riddarasögur*, *fornaldarsögur*, chapbooks, one *konungasaga*, as well as one saga and one

75. Halldór Hermannsson, *Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland*, 6–17.

76. The blog post was archived on 8/07/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20230608183330/https://icelandicscribesproject.com/manuscripts/london-bl/.

77. The quire structure is uncertain due to extensive repairs. Between f. 1 and f. 175 and then again between f. 243 to the end of the volume, the structure is quite regular, featuring only quaternions (with the exception of quire V, which is a quinion, and XLV, which today consists of 9 leaves, the last one being a singleton). In the middle part of the manuscript, between f. 176 and f. 242, extensive irregularities occur.

78. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:77–78.

short tale of Icelanders. They appear in the following order: *Clarus saga* (ff. 1r–13r), *Haralds saga Hringsbana* (ff. 13v–26r), *Sigurðar saga fóts* (ff. 26v–30v), *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* (ff. 31r–42v), *Knýtlinga saga* (ff. 43r–89r), *17HsG* (ff. 89v–93r), *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (ff. 93v–96r), *Griseldis saga* (ff. 96v–99v), *Galmeys saga riddara* (ff. 100r–175v), *Bósa saga og Herrauðs* (ff. 176r–195v), *Stjörnu-Odda draumur* (ff. 196r–202r), *Esópus saga* (ff. 202v–214v), *Brita þáttur* (ff. 215r–217v), *Trönu þáttur* (ff. 218r–219r), *Sigurgarðs saga frækna* (ff. 219v–233r), *Valdimars saga* (ff. 233v–239v), *Bréf af Alexandri Magni* (ff. 240r–242r), *Njáls saga* (ff. 243r–345r), and some stanzas from *Njáls saga* (ff. 345v–347r).

Bréf af Alexandri Magni[79] and verses from *Njáls saga* are later additions. At the end of the manuscript there is a table of contents added on the rear flyleaf, which lists all nineteen items in this volume, including the additions. The presence of the later additions in L222 is made clear in the table of contents, where by items 17 and 19, we can read that they were 'skrifaðar af öðrum' (written by someone else) and 'seinna bætt' (later added) to the volume.

The only discrepancy between the table of contents and the order in which texts appear today is the position of *Brita þáttur* (ff. 215r–217v), today the thirteenth item in the codex directly following *Esópus saga* (ff. 202v–214v), but in the table of contents *Brita þáttur* was the tenth item, following *Galmeys saga riddara* (ff. 100r–175v), suggesting the contents might have been rearranged.[80]

L222 begins with a title page added on the front flyleaf, likely written at the same time as the table of contents. The title page reads: 'Søgu-bók | af ymsum | Fornkonúngum *ok* køppum*m* | skrifud 1695–98 | af | Jóni Þórðarsyni, | forðum prestur að Søndum í Dýrafirði' (A saga-book of various ancient kings and heroes, written 1695–1698 by Jón Þórðarson, formerly pastor at Sandar in Dýra-

79. This text is catalogued simply as *sendibréf* but it certainly belongs to the Alexandrian tradition as discussed by Skårup, 'Bréf Alexandri Magni. Den norrøne oversættelse af Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem udgivet sammen med forlægget'.

80. This presents a challenge from the perspective of the structure of quire XXIX, which is 215+222, 216+221, 217+220, 218+219. As it stands, currently f. 217 appears conjoint with f. 220, and three different texts appear across these leaves. *Brita þáttur* ends on f. 217v, and on f. 218r *Trönu þáttur* begins, which then ends on f. 219r, and on f. 219v *Sigurgarðs saga frækna* starts. It seems possible that the repairs obscure the original structure of this manuscript.

fjörður). Here, we learn that Jón Þórðarson, who was a priest at Sandar in Dýrafjörður, was the scribe of this manuscript, working on it in the years 1695–1698. As mentioned before, there are also later additions in different hands, ff. 240r–242r, dated to 1731, and ff. 345v–347r dated to 1746, but the hands have not yet been identified.[81] It is not unlikely that the title page is a copy of an older title page which got damaged and was therefore replaced. The manuscript must have been in poor condition, as the extensive repairs of the support suggest. It is interesting to note that someone supplied the text which went missing due to the repairs, see, for example, the very striking cases on ff. 1r–v and 43r–v. It cannot be excluded that it was the same person responsible for the additions and the table of contents.

Landsbókasafn Íslands obtained L222 from the collection of Jón Pétursson (1812–1896), a lawyer and judge,[82] but it is unknown how he came into possession of the manuscript.[83] There are various names written in the manuscript, including 'Jón Pjetursson' and 'Br*ynjólfur* Oddsson', most likely Brynjoólfur Oddsson (1825–1887), the bookbinder.[84] It would not be surprising if Brynjólfur was one of the previous owners of the manuscript and was also responsible for the repairs.

2.4 Textual Relationships

As discussed in Section 1.3, competing interpretations of the relationships among the oldest manuscripts of *17HsG* were proposed in previous scholarship, with the most important contributions by Kölbing and Andrews.[85] Despite some errors in Andrews' lists of variants, there is no evidence pointing towards any other conclusion than that A601 is the *codex optimus* of this tradition. My own research has led me to the same conclusion and I believe that A601

81. Arthur, 'Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls Saga*: The Codicology of Iceland's Most Famous Saga', 72, 160.

82. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:248–249.

83. Cf. Arthur, 'Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls Saga*: The Codicology of Iceland's Most Famous Saga', 75 and Section 3.2.

84. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:281.

85. Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda'.

is not only the *codex optimus* but also the archetype of the entire tradition of *17HsG*, as Figure 2.3 illustrates. There is no significant variant in A601 that would justify an additional common exemplar for this tradition.

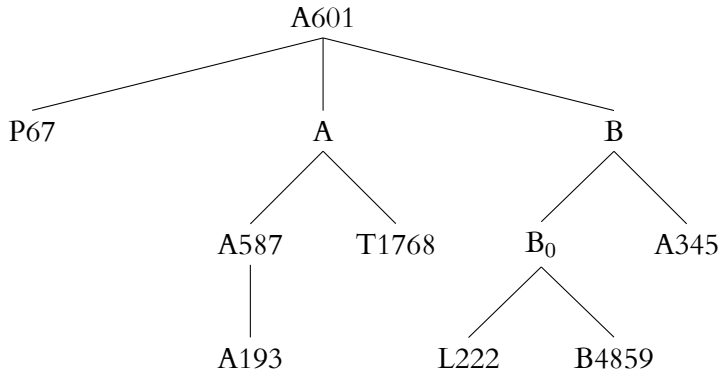

Figure 2.3: Stemma of the oldest manuscripts of *17HsG*

Since the objective of this study is to investigate the entire transmission history of *HsG*, it was necessary to revise the simplified stemmas by Kölbing and Andrews and present a more nuanced view of the relationships between all the individual texts. This approach enabled me to identify major (or substantial) variants, which, in turn, allowed me to later assess the variation appearing in the younger manuscripts and assign all known manuscripts to particular text-groups and sub-text-groups.[86]

Based on the shared innovations present in the oldest tradition, we can distinguish three text-groups, which correspond to the grouping by scribe applied above. Group A includes manuscripts in Ásgeir Jónsson's hand (A193, A587, and T1768), which are derived from a common ancestor A that had to be very closely related to A601. Group B includes manuscripts in Jón Þórðarson's hand (A345, B4859, and L222), derived from a common ancestor

86. For a discussion of different types of variants used to reveal relationships between texts, see, for example, Greg, *The Calculus of Variants, an Essay on Textual Criticism*; Salemans, 'Cladistics or the Resurrection of the Method of Lachmann: On Building the Stemma of *Yvain*', 4; Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method*, 52–57; Kapitan, 'A Choice of Relationship-Revealing Variants for a Cladistic Analysis of Old Norse Texts: Some Methodological Considerations'.

B, which was also very closely related to A601. Finally, I decided to distinguish the third group, group C, which appears somewhat superficial when discussing exclusively the oldest manuscripts, as it includes only P67, seen as a direct descendant from A601. However, since both manuscripts are in Jón Eggertsson's hand, focusing on group C provides an opportunity to discuss the rationale behind some of the revisions Jón introduced in P67. Furthermore, in the following chapter, we will discuss some additional manuscripts that preserve texts classified as belonging to group C. The textual characteristics of each text-group are discussed in the following sections.

Text-group A

The manuscripts in text-group A preserve texts of *17HsG* which contain a rather limited number of significant variants. The shared readings that set this text-group apart from the remaining manuscripts include, for example:

A] B, C.

í upp að hjöltum] í völlinn upp að hjöltum.

hann kom heim og krufði hana] hann kom heim og krufði Gedduna.

að liðnum sex dögum] að liðnum fjórum dögum.[87]

It is important to emphasise the peculiarity of the first reading, which suggests that the common ancestor of text-group A, which I call A, had to be copied after the deletion of 'völlinn' in A601 was made. A601 (f. 4r:24) has a deletion in this part of the text and the word 'v*ǫllinn*' is crossed over. Since the deletion is done in a brighter brown ink than the ink used for the main text, the original reading is still legible. The same treatment of deletion appears a bit further in the text where on f. 5r:1 of A601 'j v*ǫllinn*' is crossed over in the same ink as the previous deletion and this reading does not appear in text-group A.

The existence of A can be concluded because none of the extant manuscripts in group A could be an exemplar for the remain-

87. I present readings common to all discussed witnesses (both manuscripts and editions) in normalised Modern Icelandic orthography. In rare cases, when the text appears in quotation marks, this indicates a diplomatic transcription of a specific text, and then the italicised text within quotation marks represents expansions of abbreviations.

ing one. T1768 could not be an exemplar for this tradition due to readings such as:

T1768] A587, A193, B, C.

herðamikill og sterkur] herðamikill, mikill og sterkur.

með kylfunni til dauða] með kylfunni blámenn til dauða.

hvaðan kattarkyn] hvaðan soddan kattarkyn.

÷] á lendar ofann.

Neither A193 nor A587 could be an exemplar, due to the innovations that texts of these two manuscripts share, such as:

A193, A587] T1768, B, C.

víst eru hraustur maður] víst eru hraustur.

÷] helldur en ræna kotkalla.

að grjót og steinar gengu upp] að grjót og stokkar gengu upp.

It is worth emphasising here that, in addition to the external factors discussed in the previous chapter, there is some textual evidence suggesting that A193 is a copy of A587, for example:

A193, A587] T1768, B, C.

d. hann var maður frægur] hann var frægur maður.

og (+ í A587) gaf hann] og í því gaf hann.

From a purely text-critical perspective, the most convincing example demonstrating that A193 is a copy of A587 is the reading 'og í gaf h*ann*' in A587 (f. 2r–v) against 'oc gaf h*ann*' in A193 (f. 1v). The original reading, preserved in all other manuscripts, is 'og í því gaf hann'. A587's reading can be explained by a page break between 'og í' and 'gaf h*ann*'. The omission of 'því' is an accidental error, which has been copied into A193, with the slight adjustment of removing the unnecessary 'í' from the text. Similarly noteworthy is the second example on the list above, where the letter 'd' that appears on f. 1r of A587 is under-dotted, indicating a deletion. A193 (f. 1r) copies the letter followed by a dot and keeps the meaningless 'd' in the text.

Other readings suggesting that A193 is a copy of A587, not the other way around, are instances where A587 preserves the original reading, shared with the rest of the tradition, while A193 introduces changes such as:

A193] A587, T1768, B, C.

oc veit nu konungi lið] oc veit nu lið konungi.

er vó Hröngvið] sem vó Hröngvið.

og varð ei fyrr var við] hann varð eigi fyrr var við.

Meanwhile no such individual reading can be found in A587 as all innovations of A587 are also reproduced in A193.

Text-group B

Text-group B can be clearly distinguished based on various types of variant readings. First of all, these are shared innovations:

B] A, C.

þakkar kalli frá söguna] þakkar kalli fregn þessa.

þeir voru á veg komnir] þeir voru á leið komnir.

There are also some clear errors:

B] A, C.

Svílöð] Gunnlöð.

kú] ský.

Finally, there are numerous minor variants:

B] A, C.

að sér væri niður slept] þó sér væri niður slept.

sendimenn frá einum konungi] sendimenn frá nokkrum konungi.

nú segir Blindr draum sinn] nú segir Blindur enn einn draum sinn.

The two errors, mentioned in the list above, are clearly palaeographic errors. They most likely originate in the misreading of the characteristic letter forms used by Jón Eggertsson in A601. They suggest that L222, A345, and B4859 share a common ancestor, which I call B, and which introduced the two misreadings. The first one, considering the name of Hrómundur's mother 'Gunnlöð', is especially interesting. In the first chapter of the saga, when Hrómundur's mother is first introduced, all manuscripts preserve the name 'Gunnlöð'. It is only in the second occurrence of the name where 'Gunnlöð' becomes 'Svílöð', or more precisely 'Svylod' in A345, 'Svijlauþ' in B4859, and 'Svij[0]oþ' in L222.

The common ancestor of text-group B was probably based directly on A601, as it seems that the capital 'G' was misread as 'S' and the small capital 'N' as 'y', see the reading of A601 in Figure 2.4. It seems rather unlikely that the error was introduced independently each time.

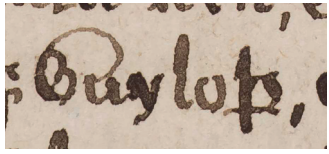

Figure 2.4: Reading 'Gun*n*loþ' in AM 601 b 4to, f. 2v
(Photo: *Handrit.org*)

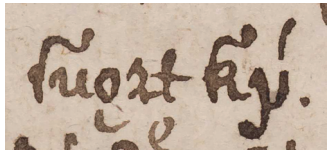

Figure 2.5: Reading 'svǫrt ský' in AM 601 b 4to, f. 5v
(Photo: *Handrit.org*)

A similar situation appears in the misreading of 'svört sky' as 'svørt kü' in L222 and B4859,[88] or 'sva*a*rt kv' in A345.[89] This is a simple misreading of the 'sk'-ligature which was used in A601. The ligature resembles the letter 'k' with a curved ascender, as represented in Figure 2.5, and was copied as 'k'.

The texts classified as text-group B are probably not all direct descendants of their shared ancestor, which can be demonstrated by the following innovations in B4859 and L222:

L222, B4859] A345, A, C.

konungur (+ varð miög reiður og L222) mælti, fyrir þessi þín orð skal Hrómundur ᵹheingður verða (gálgann gista L222), þótt hann sé frækinn (+ kallaður L222)] ÷.

er þér er vopnbært] er þú getur valdið.

88. The reading could also be 'svørt kii' in both L222 and B4859 as the 'ü' looks like the double 'i'.

89. The superscript 'r' in A345 appears between 'v' and 'a' and could be expanded as 'sv*a*rat'.

mér þótti jarnhringur sleiginn] mér þótti jarnhringur settur.

These readings suggest that B4859 and L222 were both descendants of a common ancestor, which in turn was a sibling of A345. On the stemma, I represented this intermediary common ancestor as B_0 (Figure 2.3).

It needs to be mentioned that in each of these manuscripts, there are also peculiar readings which exclude the possibility that any of them could have served as an exemplar for another manuscript in this group. A345 could not be the exemplar for B4859 and L222 because of readings such as:

A345] B4859, L222, A, C.

Eitt sinn héllt Ólafur norður] Eitt sinn héllt Ólafur austur.

lítt mannstu það sagði hún] lítt mannstu nú, sagði hún.

er þeim mætti ad liði Halldingja] er þeim mætti.

B4859 cannot be the exemplar for A345 and L222 because of readings such as:

B4859] A345, L222, A, C.

að þora ekki að veita lið konungi] að þora ekki að veita konungi lið.

sem drap Hröngvið bróður minn] sem vó Hröngvið bróður minn.

enn sverðið sótt] og renndi sverðið.

L222 cannot be the exemplar for B4859 and A345 because of readings such as:

L222] A345, B4859, A, C.

÷] fullur galdra.

um hríð] um kyrrt.

er þú drapst frillu þína] er þú drapst sjálfur frillu þína.

Text-group C

Revealing the relationship between A601 and P67 is quite straightforward. If we focus exclusively on major type-two variants,[90] used

90. For a definition of type-two variants, see Greg, *The Calculus of Variants, an Essay on Textual Criticism*; Kapitan, 'A Choice of Relationship-Revealing Variants for a Cladistic Analysis of Old Norse Texts: Some Methodological Considerations'.

to determine the relationships between the main text-groups, then P67 always agrees with A601. This does not, however, mean that P67 preserves the same text as A601, nor that it is a reliable copy of A601. There are numerous innovations exclusive to P67, which include:

- changes in word order:

  P67] A601, A, B.

  þetta sá Hröngviður] Hröngviður sá þetta.

  kvaðst heita Helgi] kvaðst Helgi heita.

  sem fyrst að láta þig deyja] að láta þig sem fyrst deyja.

  hann gaf eitt sinn þeim manni er Hrókur hét gullhring góðan] hann gaf einum manni þeim er Hrókur hét eitt sinn gullhring góðan.

  oddi sverðsins] sverðsins oddi.

- changes in lexicon and/or meaning:

  P67] A601, A, B.

  og þar fyrir vil ég] og þar fyrir skal ég.

  og heim] og norður til (┤danmerkur├ A601) síns ríkis.

  að sínu ríki] að landi sínu.

  mér man vera mál að höggva] mér man vera mál úr haugnum.

  þá féll draugurinn] þá datt draugurinn.

  þá var orðið mjög myrkt] þá var orðið mjög dimmt.

- minor changes of, for example, prepositions and adverbs:

  P67] A601, A, B.

  þar var með einn dreki] þar var einn dreki.

  og spyr eftir] og spyr.

  Kári hafði nú fengið] Kári hafði fengið.

  síðan gengu] eptir það gengu.

  ganga inn í] ganga í.

There are countless instances where P67 preserves different readings from all other examined manuscripts, most of them very minor changes in syntax or function words, but also some substantial changes. Two of them are the most striking.

The first one appears in the very first sentence of the saga, where A601 reads '⟨S⟩á k*on*gr rieþe f*yrir* ┤Gordom├ ˋ┤ı danm*orc*├´ er Olafr h*iet*', where *í Danmörk* is a supralinear addition, which had been deleted together with the inline *Görðum*, but P67 on f. 102v simply reads '⟨S⟩ä kongur riede firer Gördum er Ólafur hiet'. In the same vein, another change from *síns ríkis* to *heim* is important. A601 (f. 3r:15–16) reads: 'Sigldi olafr k*on*gr sua þ*ad*ann, oc n*or*þr til ┤danmerkr├ ˋsinz rijkis´' where the name of the country is deleted and an addition is made in the left margin which reads 'sinz rijkis'. All manuscripts, except for P67, reproduce this sentence in its corrected form: *Sigldi Ólafur konungur svá þaðan og norður til sins ríkis*, but P67 is the only manuscript that reads: *Sigldi Ólafur konungur svá þaðan og heim*.

These striking examples of individual readings introduced in P67, together with the accumulation of minor variants, tell us something about Jón Eggertsson's intentions and the expectations of the intended audiences of these volumes. They suggest that Jón did not want to present Ólafur as a king of Denmark.[91]

While A601 might be seen as a draft, where there is space for correction and deletion, P67 preserves a clean text of the saga, without any extensive scribal corrections and, more importantly, without any mentions of Denmark. While A601 is densely written with many abbreviations, P67, with its large format, wide margins, decorated initials, and clear script, is one of the most beautiful extant manuscripts of the saga. It is written in a clear chancery fractura script and, unlike many Icelandic manuscripts, it does not have any abbreviations. As Regina Jucknies observed, a sparse amount of abbreviation was a typical feature of manuscripts that Jón prepared for the Swedes in order to make the text more legible.[92]

In order to achieve a full overview of the relationships between these two important manuscripts, their texts were closely compared to the *rímur*. While we can find noteworthy references to the *rímur*, including work by Kölbing, Brown, and Andrews, the readings of the rímur were never used to shed light on the relationship between

91. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Kapitan, 'When a King of Norway Became a King of Russia: Transmission and Reception of *Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar* in Scholarly Networks of Early Modern Scandinavia', 337–340.

92. Jucknies, *Der Horizont eines Schreibers, Jón Eggertsson (1643-89) und seine Handschriften*, 96.

P67 and A601, the two 'authorial' copies of the seventeenth-century saga.[93] Even though finding clear verbal correspondence between the saga and the *rímur* is challenging, by comparing the examples in which A601 preserves different readings than P67 alongside the text of *Griplur*, we can note that from 43 examined instances, P67 agrees with the *rímur* six times, and ironically A601 also agrees with the *rímur* six times. In the remaining examples it is impossible to determine which text is closer to the *rímur*, and there the saga texts are actually closer to each other. This quantitative comparison does not definitively suggest which manuscript preserves more original readings, but it opens up the possibility that Jón was using *Griplur* while revising the text for P67.

Chapter divisions

The division of a given text into chapters in post-medieval manuscripts can sometimes help to determine, or at least confirm, the groupings of texts. This approach has been successfully applied by Lavender in his work on Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra.[94] In the case of the oldest part of the *17HsG* tradition, this is unfortunately not really the case. In L222, the saga is divided into six chapters, while all the remaining manuscripts (A193, A587, A345, B4859, A601, P67, and T1768) divide the text into five chapters. Even though these chapter divisions do not help us to confirm the text-groups identified in the oldest tradition, they are useful in distinguishing which younger texts of *17HsG* were derived from L222 (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3).

Additionally, it is worth noting here that the printed editions of the saga always divide the text into ten chapters. This was first introduced by Björner in his 1737 edition and has since been consistently reproduced by all other editors and translators. The edition presented here is the first one ever that is actually faithful to the presentation of the saga in manuscripts.

93. It must be noted here that Brown was aware of Andrews' conclusion that A601 preserves the best text of the saga, but she still compared only the texts of the editions, namely the edition of *Griplur* by Finnur Jónsson and the edition of *17HsG* by Rafn, ignoring all unique readings preserved in manuscripts of the saga or the *rímur*.

94. Lavender, Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*: The Saga of Illugi, Gríður's Foster-son*, 93, 102.

Postscript

One of the common features appearing in some of the manuscripts is a postscript, or a short note which follows the saga. Four of the manuscripts, A193, A587, A601, and T1768, preserve this note, which very briefly discusses the contents of the saga and the saga's exemplar. The note in A601 (reproduced in Figure 2.2) reads as follows:

> Suu Saga Sem þetta var Effter Skriffad vard | Naumlega lesen*n*. Og ei Sem Skilianlegust um*m* | Landa edur Stada heite Sum, þö er þad vyst ad | Räda hier aff kong Olaffur mune vered haffa | kongur ad naffn böt i ┤**danmerkur**├ ┤`**noreg´**├ **vellde** Einhv*or*stad*ar* | þar Sem Nær grendsad heffur vid Suÿþjöd. þuj þä | heffur ┤**Danmerkur**├ ┤`**Noreg´**├ **Ryke** hafft marga Smä k*on*ga Sem, | bevysast kan*n* aff fornum frædu*m*. So skriff*ar* s*ira* Magn*us* | i laufase Olaffss*on*, etc. (A601, f. 6r).
>
> (The saga from which this was transcribed was barely readable and not at all clear concerning some of the names of countries or places, but it can clearly be understood that King Ólafur held the title of king somewhere in the realm of ┤Denmark├ ┤`**Norway´**├ near the border with Sweden, because, at that time, the kingdom of ┤Denmark├ ┤`**Norway´**├ had many petty kings, as demonstrated in ancient lore. Thus writes Sr. Magnús Ólafsson from Laufás.)

The note was already a subject of scholarly interest for Árni Magnússon, who wrote in the margin of A601 'mendacium est. þ*et*ta er teked ur Rimunum' doubting the information provided by the note that the saga is copied from an old and potentially badly damaged volume. In modern scholarship, there has been a heated discussion about whether the first sentence of the note refers to a lost exemplar of the prose, or whether it can refer to *rímur* and what role Magnús Ólafsson from Laufás played in the saga's creation.[95] Andrews proposed a plausible explanation of the reference to Magnús Ólafsson. He observed, apparently relying on Kålund's suggestion, that it may be exclusively the information

95. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda', 533; Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 89; Faulkes, *Magnúsarkver: The Writings of Magnús Ólafsson of Laufás*, 133.

about many kings of Denmark that relies on Magnús' account, not the saga. This seems a reasonable explanation, especially if we interpret 'etc.' at the end of the note as a reference to other authorities of the time, who had perhaps equal prestige as Magnús.

Regarding the exemplar of the saga, a hypothesis was proposed by Jesch suggesting that the word 'saga' could be loosely used in the seventeenth century for *rímur*, and therefore the note might refer to damaged text of the *rímur* on which the saga is based, rather than to the damaged exemplar of the saga. While this seems to be a quite reasonable explanation, Jesch built her argument using the case of *Skáld-Helga saga*.[96] She refers to Jón Helgason's and Ólafur Halldórsson's accounts on that matter.[97] In my view, however, there is no convincing argument that any reference to *Skáld-Helga saga* actually refers to the *rímur*, rather than a saga. While the lexical and semantic connotations of the term saga in itself might require further examination, considering the evidence at hand, it seems quite possible that the note implies that the manuscript to which I refer as *JE 27 4to, the manuscript of *Griplur* that Jón Eggertsson obtained in Iceland and brought to Sweden, was in a rather poor condition. Given the condition of other known manuscripts of *Griplur*, it is easy to imagine that it was badly damaged and partially illegible. For example, Cod. Guelf. 42.7. Aug. 4to preserves a defective text of *Griplur*, while AM 603 4to used to preserve *Griplur*, but they are now lost.[98]

Another notable feature of the postscript, which has not been discussed until very recently, are the two deletions and corrections present in A601, both dealing with the geography of the saga. Thanks to multi spectral imaging, it has recently been possible to reveal the text of the correction.[99] In both cases the name of the country Denmark was deleted and corrected with a supralinear addition to Norway. This supralinear addition, however, was also

96. Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 90.

97. Jón Helgason, 'Til Hauksbóks historie i det 17. århundrede', 36; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Grænland í miðaldaritum*, 171, 259.

98. On the transmission history of *Griplur*, see Kölbing, *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*; Kapitan, 'Medieval Poetry in Post-medieval Manuscripts: New Perspectives on the Transmission History of Griplur'.

99. Kapitan and Stegmann, 'Writing, Correcting and Annotating AM 601 b 4to: Material and Multispectral Analysis'.

deleted at a later stage. All manuscripts in text-group A preserve the postscript with Norway, not Denmark; A193 and A587 almost verbatim, and T1768 in a slightly revised form.[100] This gives us valuable insight into the early transmission and reception of the saga when the geographic relevance of the text played a significant role for the scholarly and antiquarian circles involved in the early circulation of the saga.

2.5 Manuscript context

Sixty-three different sagas appear together with *17HsG* in the oldest manuscripts, among them legendary sagas, chivalric sagas, sagas and tales of Icelanders, and even kings' sagas. Only eight of them, however, appear with *17HsG* more than once. These are: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Bósa saga og Herrauðs*, *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Knýtlinga saga*, *Möttuls saga*, *Stjörnu-Odda draumur*, *Svarfdæla saga*, and *Valdimars saga*.

It is important to emphasise that one saga predominantly co-occurs with *17HsG*: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*. *Bragða-Ölvis saga* appears with *17HsG* in 50% of manuscripts, i.e., 4 out of 8. This needs to be viewed in the context that two out of these eight manuscripts (A193 and A587) today are single-text manuscripts preserving exclusively *17HsG*.

The co-occurrence of *Bragða-Ölvis saga* with *17HsG* cannot be accidental. *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, is also a *rímur*-based narrative, and its textual tradition also traces its origins to A601.[101] Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter, Jón Eggertsson is most likely also responsible for converting *Bragða-Ölvis rímur* into prose. This is not only because both sagas can be found in A601, which is written in Jón's hand, but also because both sets of *rímur* were registered in *JE 27 4to.[102] It seems quite possible that these two texts travelled

100. Kapitan, 'When a King of Norway Became a King of Russia: Transmission and Reception of *Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar* in Scholarly Networks of Early Modern Scandinavia', 340–342.

101. Simek and Hermann Pálsson, *Lexikon der altnordischen Literatur, die mittelalterliche Literatur Norwegens und Islands*, 47; Hooper, 'Bragða Qlvis saga and rímur'; Hooper, 'Bragða Qlvis saga and rímur'.

102. Previously, Jorgensen suggested that the prose *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, based on *Bragða-Ölvis rímur*, originates in the late sixteenth century, but without providing

together in the earliest manuscripts due to their common origins, authorship, and/or style. While the potential literary similarities between *17HsG* and *Bragða-Ölvis saga* lie outside the scope of this study, their co-occurrence awakens further questions regarding the shared transmission histories of various Norse texts.

The topic of pairs, or groups of texts being frequently transmitted together in manuscripts has been gaining scholarly interest in past years. Recently, N. Kıvılcım Yavuz has, for example, observed a cluster of manuscripts in which Dares of Phrygia's *De excidio Troiae historia* appear frequently with Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De gestis Britonum*, which might have influenced the shared transmission of their Norse adaptations, *Trójumanna saga* and *Breta sögur*.[103] In my recent work, I suggested that the manuscript context in which texts appear can inform our understanding of changing perceptions of different literary genres.[104] However, in order to successfully conduct a macro analysis of the Norse manuscript corpus, further work is needed on structural cataloguing of manuscripts, taking into account their codicological features which provide insight into their production and preservation. Until then, we have to rely on case studies of individual texts, such as the present study, to explore and understand the changing factors influencing the transmission of texts. As will be further discussed in the following chapter, in the case of the transmission history of *HsG*, some patterns of co-occurrence can be observed, especially regarding the rationale for putting certain texts together in the case of manuscripts derived from printed editions, see Section 3.3.

convincing evidence for the dating. Jorgensen, 'The Neglected Genre of Rímur-Derived Prose and Post-Reformation Jónatas Saga', 191–192.

103. Yavuz, 'Manuscripts in Context: The Trojan Narrative in the Icelandic Saga Tradition'; Yavuz, 'The Long History of the Trojan Brutus: The Translingual Manuscript Evidence'; Yavuz, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae: Three New Manuscripts'.

104. Kapitan, Rowbotham and Wills, 'Visualising Genre Relationships in Icelandic Manuscripts'; Kapitan, 'Network Analysis of the Manuscript Context of Old Icelandic Literature'; Kapitan, 'Perspectives on Digital Catalogs and Textual Networks of Old Norse Literature'; Kapitan and Wills, 'Sagas and Genre: A Case for Application of Network Analysis to Manuscripts Preserving Old Norse-Icelandic Saga Literature'.

Chapter 3

Younger manuscripts of *17HsG*

The previous chapter focused on the oldest manuscripts of *17HsG* and revealed A601 as the archetype of this tradition. It classified all eight extant seventeenth century manuscripts into three groups: text-group A, including the texts written mainly by Ásgeir Jónsson, text-group B, including the texts written by Jón Þórðarson, and text-group C, including P67, written by Jón Eggertsson. This chapter turns towards the younger manuscripts of the saga, twenty-two in total, which were written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unlike the case of the oldest manuscripts, it is impossible to group the younger manuscripts by scribe, therefore, this chapter starts with introducing groups of manuscripts based on textual criteria and then proceeds to discuss individual manuscripts belonging to each group. While the main focus is on the textual relationships among the texts of *17HsG* and the innovations they introduced, at times, when relevant for the argument, I also discuss the material aspects of individual manuscripts, their origins, and their history of ownership.

It is worth emphasising here that it is in this part of the tradition where a new version of the saga, the eighteenth-century version, appears (*18HsG*), which is separately edited (see p. 243). This version is preserved in two manuscripts, Lbs 840 4to (L840) and JS 634 4to (J634), which are classified as text-group B_1, and which are discussed further in this chapter (see p. 122).

The extent of variation appearing in the younger manuscripts is quite overwhelming, with countless minor changes introduced independently at different stages of transmission. Despite the large

amount of textual innovations, some of the major variant readings introduced in the oldest manuscripts can still be traced in the younger manuscripts and allow us to group them accordingly. One of the readings that allowed us to distinguish group A from B and C is, for example, the reading *hana* for *gedduna*. This reading appears in the section describing Hagall's fishing trip in chapter 4 of the present edition. After a successful fishing trip, Hagall brings home a large fish in whose stomach he finds Hrómundur's sword.

A] B, C.

og krufði hana] og krufði gedduna.

In the younger manuscripts we can see this variant reproduced quite consistently, with only eight manuscripts preserving the original reading of A601, 'gedduna', and nine preserving the variant reading derived from A587. One manuscript omits this phrase completely, and four provide an alternative reading in this particular place of variation, but elsewhere agree with A-group readings. The distribution is as follows:[1]

- og krufði gedduna A395, Acc61, B4875, J634, K614, L633, L840, M936.
- og krufði hana B11108, I43, J102, L1217, L2316, L2943, L3164, L3795, L4460.
- krufði G52, L381, L1767, M27.
- ÷ L4825.

Among the readings that allowed us to distinguish group B from the remaining manuscripts in the oldest tradition was, for example, the amusing misreading of *ský* as *kú*. It appears in the sections describing Blindur's prophetic dreams in chapter five of this edition. In his dream, Blindur sees black clouds arriving over the kingdom, which is clearly supposed to be a bad omen that king misinterprets. However, in B-group manuscripts, it is a black cow that arrives.

B] A, C.

kú] ský.

1. In this section, the manuscripts are listed alphabetically by shelfmarks.

This reading made its way to younger manuscripts which allows us to easily distinguish texts belonging to group B. If cows are attacking Sweden, then the text is a B-type text. The majority of manuscripts, fifteen in total, preserve the original reading *ský*, six preserve the variant with cows, and one manuscript has a lacuna in this part of the text, but elsewhere it agrees with B-group readings:

- ský Acc61, B11108, G52, I43, J102, L381, L1217, L1767, L2316, L2943, L3164, L3795, L4460, M27, M936.
- kú A395,, L633, L4825.
- kýr B4875, J634, K614.
- *lacuna* L840.

Finally, text group C can be identified by the innovations introduced in P67. Among them is the reading *heim* for *síns ríkis* in chapter 2 of the present edition. It appears at the end of the episode in which Hrómundur confronts Þráinn, a barrow-dweller and a former king of Valland. After killing Þráinn, Hrómundur keeps Þráinn's ring, necklace and sword for himself, distributing the rest of Þráinn's wealth among Ólafur's companions, and afterwards they all head back home.

C] A, B.

heim] síns ríkis.

Similarly, in this case, we can find the reading derived from P67 in the younger manuscripts. If King Ólafur sails back home, instead of sailing to his kingdom (or to Denmark), then we are dealing with a C-type text. There are only two manuscripts that preserve the reading 'heim', four that read 'Danmerkur', and in the remaining texts we read either 'síns ríkis' or 'ríkis síns'. The distribution is as follows:

- síns ríkis A395, B11108, B4875, I43, J102, K614, L633, L1217, L2316, L3164, L3795, L4460, L4825.
- ríkis síns J634, L840, L2943.
- Danmerkur G52, L381, L1767, M27.
- heim Acc61, M936.

<table>
<tr><td>Rafn, Björner, L2316, L2943, L3795, L4460, Acc61, M936</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td></tr>
<tr><td>P67, A601, A587, A193, B4859, A345, T1768, B11108, G52, A395, L381, L633, L1217, L1767, L3164, L4825, I43, K614, M27</td><td colspan="2">1</td><td colspan="3">2</td><td colspan="3">3</td><td>4</td><td colspan="2">5</td></tr>
<tr><td>L222, B4875</td><td colspan="2">1</td><td colspan="3">2</td><td>3</td><td colspan="2">4</td><td>5</td><td colspan="2">6</td></tr>
<tr><td>L840, J634</td><td colspan="2">1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td colspan="2">5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>J102</td><td colspan="10">No clear chapter division</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 3.1: Chapter division of *17HsG*

Furthermore, the chapter division of the saga, as presented in Figure 3.1, reveals three patterns, which are useful in distinguishing the textual sub-groups. In the majority of manuscripts, the saga is divided into five chapters, and this division originates from A601. Two manuscripts, L222 and B4875, divide the saga into six chapters, while another two, L840 and J634 divide it into eight chapters. Finally, there are six manuscripts that have ten chapters and these seem to be derived from the printed editions, which also divide the saga into ten chapters. J102 is the only manuscript that does not have any clear chapter division.

Taking into consideration both the chapter division and the richness of the textual variation, a number of text-sub-groups can be distinguished. Within text-group A, there are three text-sub-groups consisting of the following younger manuscripts:

- Sub-group A_1: G52, L381, L1767, and M27.
- Sub-group A_2: B11108, I43, L1217, L3164.
- Sub-group A_3: J102, L2316, L2943, L3795, L4460.

Within text-group B there are five text-sub-groups consisting of the following younger manuscripts:

- Sub-group B_1: L840 and J634.
- Sub-group B_2: B4875.
- Sub-group B_3: L633 and A395.

- Sub-group B_4: K614.
- Sub-group B_5: L4825.

Within text-group C there are the following younger manuscripts:

- Acc61,
- M936.

A textual analysis revealed that text-sub-group A_3 consists of manuscripts preserving texts derived from Rafn's edition, while text-group C consists of manuscripts based on Björner's edition. This allows a comparison of the types of variants introduced in the two groups. Therefore, the manuscripts based on the printed editions, text-group A_3 and C, are treated separately in Section 3.3. The remaining manuscripts are discussed according to their groupings, so text-group A is discussed in Section 3.1 and text-group B is discussed in Section 3.2.[2]

2. It is worth noting here that while it may seem unusual from the reader's perspective to distinguish text sub-groups containing only one or two manuscripts, this is a deliberate decision aimed at highlighting the innovations introduced in particular manuscripts. The intention is that when new manuscripts of *17HsG* are discovered, or those currently in private collections become accessible in public libraries for research, it will hopefully be relatively easy to determine which text sub-group they belong to.

3.1 Text-group A

The younger manuscripts in text-group A can be further classified into at least three text-sub-groups: A_{1-3}. As illustrated in Figure 3.2, none of them derived directly from Ásgeir Jónsson's manuscripts. Text-sub-groups A_1 and A_2 share a common ancestor, to which I will refer as A_0. Text sub-group A_3 is based on Rafn's edition. A_0 can be distinguished, because it most likely introduced the following innovation, which is not present in any of the older A-group manuscripts:

T1768, A587, A193, A_3, B, C] A_1, A_2.

ragur ok blauður] rágur og duglaus ˹og (÷ M27, L1767, L381, G52) ˹sért þú (sittu L3164) ekki ˹blauður (duglaus M27).

Even though there are not many examples of readings which are reproduced in an unchanged form in all manuscripts in text-groups A_{1-2}, A_0 seems to be more closely related to A587 than to T1768. The innovations introduced in T1768, discussed in Section 3.4.1, are not reproduced in the descendants of A_0, such as the omissions:

T1768] A587, A193, A_1, A_2, A_3, B, C.[3]

÷] (+ alt L3164) á lendar ˹ofann (÷ L3164).

með kylfunni til dauða] með kylfunni blámenn til dauða.

At the same time, the descendants of A_0 reproduce the innovations of A587, such as the omission:

A587, A193, A_1, A_2] T1768, A_3, B, C.

÷] helldur en ræna kotkalla.

Since all innovations of A587 are reproduced in A193, and the individual innovations of A193 are very minor, it is impossible to build a strong argument that A_0 was related to one rather than the other.

3. Note that there is additional minor variation in text-groups B and C, which is not registered here, as the analytical focus is on group A.

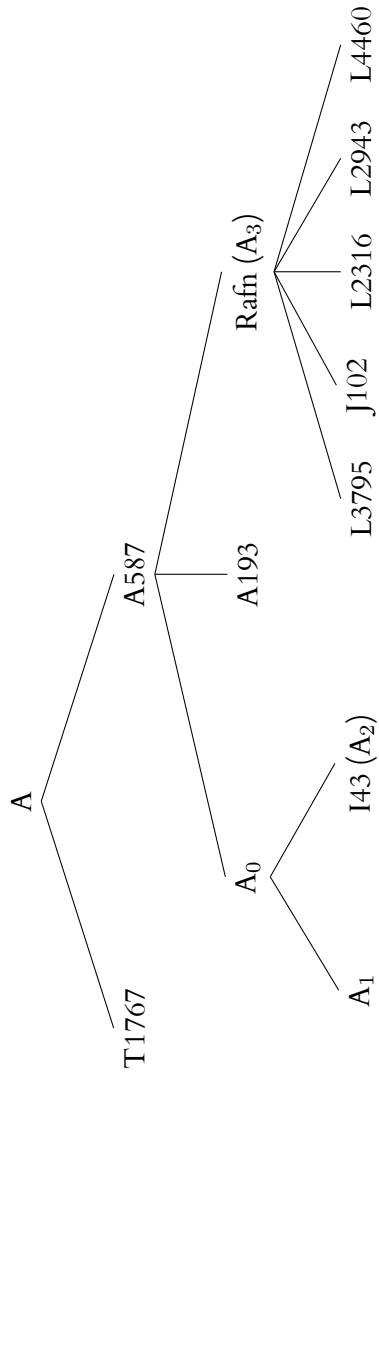

Figure 3.2: Stemma of text-group A

Text-group A_1

The four manuscripts of text-group A_1 are (in chronological order):

- Lbs 381 fol. (L381), *17HsG* written in 1801,
- Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27), *17HsG* written in 1806,
- G-52/1 (G52), dated to ca. 1815–1828,
- Lbs 1767 4to (L1767), *17HsG* written in 1860.

Lbs 381 fol.

Lbs 381 fol. (L381), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in folio which contains a total of 168 leaves (158+10) of watermarked paper.[4] The manuscript consists of two parts. The first part starts with an unpaginated title page, followed by pp. 1–313, and page 314 left blank and not paginated. The second part is an addition of ten leaves with pagination 1–10; no traces of pagination are visible on the remaining leaves, as the leaves were trimmed. In addition to *17HsG*, preserved in the first part of the manuscript on ff. 71v–76v (pp. 140–150), L381 contains *Huldar saga*, three *Hrafnistumannasögur* (*Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, and *Örvar-Odds saga*), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Hálfdanar saga svarta*, *Hrings saga og Skjaldar*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Starkaðar saga gamla*,[5] and *Andra saga jarls*.

The volume opens with a title page (f. 1r), which introduces the contents in the following manner:

> Á BÓK Þessi | ero ritadar nockrar | FRODLEGAR OG ÁG-ÆTAR | Forn-Saugur | af | ymsum afreks=Kǫppum, Hetium | oc Hreystemǫnnum, | Er á fyrre Aulldum verit hafa | her á NORDRLAUNDUM, | til | Eptertektar og leyfilegrar Dægrlstyttíngar, | J Hiáverkum | ad nýu uppskrifadar | ad | Stóru=Ásgeirsá í Vídedali | af | Thómase Thómassyne | Histor. Patriæ Stud: | Anno Domini MDCCXC.
>
> In this book are written some instructive and fine old stories about various elite warriors, heroes, and brave men, who in the old days were here in the Northern countries for atten-

4. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:263.

5. F. 158v is left blank. Note that *Starkaðar saga gamla* is not listed in Páll Eggert Ólason, III:263, or *Handrit.org*, archived on 9/07/2022 at https://web.archive.org/web/20220709085419/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs02-0381, last accessed 14/02/2024.

> tion and permissible pastime, in spare time again transcribed at Stóra-Ásgeirsá in Viðidal by Tómas Tómasson, student of the fatherland's history Anno Domini 1790.

According to the information provided on the title page, L381 was written in 1790, but the only text actually dated to this year is *Örvar-Odds saga*, or more precisely three *Hrafnistumannasögur* collected under the common rubric: 'Sagann af | AURVAR=ODDE OG ÞEIM | fedgum'.

The main part of the manuscript was written by Tómas Tómasson (1756–1811), a *hreppstjóri* (a district administrative officer) from Stóra-Ásgeirsá in Northern Iceland.[6] According to the dates given in the colophons, the majority of the sagas were copied in 1803 and 1805. There is no clear overlap between the text boundary and quire boundary, and the texts, which are followed by a colophon, appear in what appears to be the relative chronological order of writing: *Huldar saga* (no colophon), *Hrafnistumannasögur* (24 December 1790), *17HsG* (19 February 1801), *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* (20 February 1803), *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (13 March 1803), *Hálfdanar saga svarta* (7 April 1803), *Hrings saga og Skjaldar* (13 April 1805), *Friðþjófs saga 6 May 1805*, *Starkaðar saga gamla* (no colophon). The last item of the manuscript, *Andra saga jarls* (no colophon), is a later addition, written by Einar Bjarnason (1782–1856), a prolific scribe from Mælifell in Northern Iceland.[7] According to Páll Eggert Ólason, this addition can be dated to around 1820.[8]

Both scribes were very active copyists of their times. According to *Handrit.org*, Tómas Tómasson has been identified as the scribe of at least seven manuscripts in Landsbókasafn Íslands, while Einar Bjarnason is credited with over sixty.[9] Tómas Tómasson , who describes himself on the title page as a student of the fatherland's history, demonstrates his wide knowledge of Icelandic literature by commenting on the contents of some of the texts and by drawing the reader's attention to the inter-textual relationships; for example

6. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:18.
7. Páll Eggert Ólason, I:340.
8. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:263.
9. See *Handrit.org* (last accessed 17/02/2024).

in notes following *Örvar-Odds saga* (p. 139) or *17HsG*(p. 150). The latter one reads:

> J sídasta Kapitula Hrólfs Saugo Sturlaugss*onar*; er kalllaz þar Gaungo Hrólfr; segir; at Olafr k*on*gr og Systr hans | hafi Verit Bǫrn Hrólfs, en*n* hér eru þau bǫrn Gnodar | Asm*un*dar.
>
> (In the last chapter of the saga of Hrólfur Sturlaugsson, who is called there Göngu-Hrólfur, it is said that king Ólafur and his sisters were children of Hrólf, but here they are children of Gnoð-Ásmundur.)

This attention paid to family relationships resembles closely Torfæus' marginalia in A587, discussed in Section 2.2, bearing witness to Tómas's deep interest in Nordic history. His erudition is also expressed in other, shorter marginal notes that accompany *17HsG*. They draw attention to the main events of the saga, and possible 'factual' discrepancies between *17HsG* and other sagas. These are:

- 'Siá Sǫgu | Hálfs k*on*gs' (f. 71v:7–8, paginated 140).
- 'atg*er*fe | Hróm*undar*' (f. 71v:12–13, p. 140).
- 'fall Hraung|vid*ar* Bers*erks*' (f. 72r:21, p. 141).
- 'afdrif | Þráins' (f. 73v:8, p. 144).
- 'fall | Helga | frækna' (f. 75r:3–4, p. 147).
- 'dráp | Vola' (f. 75r:17–18, p. 147).
- '[0000] | Hróm:'[10] (f. 75r:20–21, p. 147).
- 'Siá | Gaungo-|Hrólfs | Saugo | 26. Cap.' (f. 75r:24–27, p. 147).
- 'brǫgd | karl' (f. 75v:21–22, p. 148).
- List of Blindur's dreams: 'Draumr | Blinds | 1te' (f. 75v:28–30, p. 148), '2^{r}' (f. 76r:3, p. 149), '3^{ie}' (f. 76r:7, p. 149), '4de' (f. 76r:11, p. 149), '5te' (f. 76r:14, p. 149), '6te' (f. 76r:17, p. 149), '7de' (f. 76r:19, p. 149), '8de' (f. 76r:24, p. 149), '9de' (f. 76r:29, p. 149).
- 'al: | Halldíng*ur*' (f. 76v:4–5, p. 150).
- 'fall | Hadd*ings* | k*on*gs' (f. 76v:15–16, p. 150).
- 'Blindr | hengdr' (f. 76v:17–18, p. 150).

10. This marginal note is unclear. There seems to be a #-like symbol, or double 't' above four characters, 'e' being the first one, 'ǫ' or 's' with an er-abbreviation above being the second one, 'l' being the third, and 'n', 'r' or 'e' being the fourth. The note appears alongside the passage where Hrómundur counts his wounds and mentions his eight dead brothers.

Most of these marginal notes serve as navigational aids (or finding aids), drawing the reader's attention to the most important events of the saga, such as the deaths of Hröngviður, Helgi, Hadding, and Blindur. Some of them, however, focus on the inter-textual context. For example, the note 'sjá sögu Hálfs kongs' (p. 140) where the text introduces Gunnlöð as Hrómundur's mother expresses the scribe's awareness that in *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* Gunnlöð is introduced as the daughter of Hrókur hin svarti, and mother of Hrómundur. Similarly, the notes on p. 150, which bring to the reader's attention that Haddingjar and Halldingjar might refer to the same characters, suggesting that the scribe was well versed in saga literature. Finally, the note 'sjá Göngu-Hrólfs Sögo 26. Kap.' (p. 147) by the part of the text describing Svanhvít's help to Hrómundur after the battle must be referring to chapter 36 of Göngu-Hrólfs saga, according to Rafn's edition,[11] which describes how Dagný and Dagbjört, daughters of Hrólfur and sisters of Ólafur, healed Hrómundur.[12] This marginal note, together with the aforementioned commentary following *17HsG*, can be treated as examples of eighteenth-century textual criticism in action. The scribe acts, to some extent, as an editor of the text, bringing his critical observations to the reader's attention.

Not much else is known about the history of L381 until it was donated to Landsbókasafn Íslands in 1923 by Benedikt Sigfússon from Bakki (1859–1932). This is confirmed by a note written on a separate slip of paper, which reads 'Gefin 12/4 1923 | af Benidikt Si[g]fússyni | frá Bakka í Vansdal'.

Ms Germ qu. 27

Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27), held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, is a paper manuscript in quarto format which contains a total of i+137-i leaves of watermarked paper. The manuscript starts with a table of contents in Icelandic, followed by a table of contents in German (later addition) and the following sagas: *Reykdæla saga*, *Valla-Ljóts saga*, *Vopnfirðinga saga*,

11. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, III:362-363.

12. It is uncertain which manuscript 'version' or 'edition' of the saga the scribe is referring to. The same episode appears, for example, in chapter 37 of AM 152 fol., see Fellows-Jensen and Lavender, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*.

Brandkrossa þáttur, *Droplaugarsonar saga*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Þorsteins þáttur forvitna*, *Þorsteins þáttur Austfirðings*, *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 80v–85v), *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*.

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout, and most of the texts appearing in M27 are accompanied by colophons containing the year of copying and sometimes the name of the scribe. Most of the colophons provide only the year, 1806, but the last item in the manuscript is followed by a note 'Ritad á qvennabrecku árit 1806, lok*it* 31. Maji | af Th:Thorsteinsyni' (f. 137r). The scribe's full name can be expanded based on the title pages of other manuscripts in his hand, as all the manuscripts under the shelfmarks Ms Germ qu. 25–28 are mostly in the hand of Þórður Þorsteinsson (1760–1846) and his name is written out in full on the title pages of Ms Germ qu. 25 and Ms Germ qu. 26.[13]

Þórður Þorsteinsson took the office of vicar on Snæfellsnes from 1785 and served, for example, in Breiðavíkurþing from 1796, while he was most likely living in Stóri-Kambur, and later in Kvennabrekka from 1804.[14] The names of both of these locations are attested in the manuscripts he copied: Kvennabrekka is mentioned a number of times in the colophons of M27, while Stóri-Kambur is found in the colophons of Ms Germ qu. 26. The title page of Ms Germ qu. 26 indicates that the texts of the manuscript were all copied by Þórður Þorsteinsson at Stóri-Kambur, but the title page itself was supplied by the bookbinder.[15]

M27 contains an added leaf with a table of contents in German, which includes not only the translations of the saga titles but also a short commentary. The same hand can be found on the supplied leaves in Ms Germ qu. 25, Ms Germ qu. 26, and Ms Germ qu. 28. In Ms Germ qu. 26, after a lengthy comment regarding the fourth item in the manuscript, there is a signature 'Rühs', which must refer to Christian Friedrich Rühs (1781–1820), a German historian and

13. Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, 4–5.

14. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:125-126.

15. A very similar title page and book cover can be found in Lbs 131 fol., which contains a collection of *rímur* copied by Árni Böðvarsson. It is probably the same bookbinder as the one who bound Ms. Germ. qu. 25 and Ms. Germ. qu. 26.

professor of history at the University of Berlin.[16] The commentary in M27, as well as the physical features of this manuscript, suggest the mainly textual interests of Christian Friedrich Rühs. He not only compared the texts of this manuscript with the printed editions (as his note 'sind in der Björnerschen Sammlung aber ungenau abgedruckt' indicates) but we can also assume that he intended to work with these texts frequently, as he added numbered tabs or labels on small slips of paper to the fore-edge of the manuscripts for easy access to the texts.

It is unknown how M27 and the remaining three manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin made their way to Germany and got into Rühs's possession, and no information about this can be found in the manuscripts examined. It is known, however, that Christian Friedrich Rühs was in contact with Scandinavian scholars, including Rasmus Nyerup (1759–1829), a Danish literary historian and librarian at the University of Copenhagen,[17] and Peter Adam Wallmark (1777–1858), a Swedish author and librarian at the Royal Library in Stockholm,[18] since he mentions them as his friends in his *Die Edda nebst einer Einleitung über nordische Poesie und Mythologie und mit einem Anhang über die historische Literatur der Isländer*.[19] It is possible that he received these manuscripts through his Scandinavian network for the purpose of his further studies in the history of Scandinavia.

G-52/1

G-52/1 (G52), held in the Héraðsskjalasafn Akureyrarbæjar og Eyjafjarðarsýslu in Akureyri, is a paper manuscript in octavo format which contains a total of 58 leaves of watermarked paper. The manuscript is written in a single hand which has not yet been identified in other manuscripts. *17HsG* is the first item in the manuscript, preserved on ff. 1r–10v followed by *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa*, *Skálda*

16. Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, XXIII:1347–1348.

17. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XII:343.

18. Hofberg, *Svenskt biografiskt handlexikon*, II:693; Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, XXXI:522.

19. Rühs, *Die Edda nebst einer Einleitung über nordische Poesie und Mythologie und mit einem Anhang über die historische Literatur der Isländer*, iii.

saga, *Sigurðar þáttur slefu*, *Grænlendinga þáttur*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Friðþjófs saga*.

Based on the information given in the colophons, G52 can be dated to 1815–1828. *Sigurðar þáttur slefu*, for example, was written on 2 March 1828, while *Grænlendinga þáttur* was written in 1815. It is unknown when the other texts in the manuscript were copied, but on ff. 22+23 there is a watermark with the date '1808', so the copying of *Skálda saga*, the text that is written on ff. 14v–25v, cannot pre-date the year 1808.[20]

If we were to believe the colophons, the manuscript contains an interesting collection of texts copied from parchment exemplars, as well as from printed editions; one of the items, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, is copied from a printed edition, as the colophon on f. 49r suggests: 'Skrifud ept*ir* svenscu Exempl*ar* prentudu', while, for example, *Skálda saga* is copied from a parchment exemplar 'Skrifad eptir skin*n*bók', according to the colophon on f. 25v.

The manuscript was in the possession of Árni Bjarnarson (1910–1992), a bookseller and publisher from Akureyri, who obtained the manuscript during his travels to Canada. The manuscript came to the Archives in Akureyri in 1994, after Árni Bjarnarson's death, and the only note that can be found about this donation is that it arrived as a parcel of 24 boxes containing various materials. The collection today is divided into two parts: 'Ýmislegt frá Árna Bjarnarsyni' and 'Handrit frá Vesturheimi komin frá Árna Bjarnarsyni'. The latter is catalogued under the shelfmark G-52, which includes 46 items divided into four boxes (items 1–29, 30–37, 38–41, 42–46). G52 is the first item in the collection (G52/1).

Lbs 1767 4to

Lbs 1767 4to (L1767), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,[21] is a paper manuscript in quarto which contains ii+300 leaves. The manuscript opens with a table of contents, followed by *Sigurðar saga þögla*, *Blómsturvalla saga*, *Dínus saga drambláta*, *Hálfdanar*

20. Kapitan, 'Dating Paper Manuscripts Based on Watermarks: A Case Study of Selected Nineteenth-Century Icelandic Manuscripts'.

21. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:592–593.

saga gamla, *Ambáles saga*, *Gríshildar saga góðu*, *Úlfs saga Uggasonar* , *Gests saga og Gnatus*, *Sigurðar saga turnara*, *Sagan af Hákoni norræna*, *Jónatas ævintýri*, *17HsG* (ff. 117r–120r), *Bósa saga og Herrauðs*, *Illuga saga Tagldarbana*, *Bærings saga*, *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs*, *Rémundar saga keisarasonar*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Hektors saga*, *Rauðúlfs þáttur*, *Marons saga sterka*, *Hermanns saga illa*, *Andra saga jarls*, *Skanderbeg saga*, *Parmes saga Loðinbjarnar*, and *Starkaðar saga gamla*. *17HsG* is followed by a colophon which reads 'þann 1ta Marts 1860 af J.J.S.'

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout, which can be identified as the hand of Jóhannes Jónsson (1798–1877), a *bóndi* at Smyrlahóll in Dalasýsla in the years 1831–1862.[22] The same hand can be found in JS 203 8vo, which is a register of texts written by Jóhannes Jónsson in his own hand, and in a manuscript catalogued on *Handit.org* as Einkaeign 10.[23]

Jóhannes Jónsson is generally known as Jóhannes the blind, as he was thought to have lost his sight in the last 20 years of his life.[24] However, as Lavender observed, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in his hand is followed by a colophon with the date 1864, while the last item in the same manuscript is dated to 1867, so it is unlikely that he suffered from complete blindness at that time.[25] Likewise, L1767 was written between 1857 and 1863, so already in the period when Jóhannes was presumed to be already visually impaired, but the script of the manuscript does not suggest that.

The register of texts copied by Jóhannes, in JS 203 8vo, does not mention *17HsG*, but according to the title page of JS 203 8vo, the main focus of the register is approximately on the years 1818–1856, so L1767 falls outside of the scope of the register. It is worth noting here that there is another manuscript preserving *17HsG* which has

22. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703-1961*, I:307.

23. See the manuscript description on *Handrit.org*, archived on 6/12/2022 at https://web.archive.org/web/20221206011108/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Einkaeign-0010. Einkaeign 10 must be the same manuscript as 'Jón Jónsson's Sagnahandrit' (Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 108, 481), and it is held in the Héraðsskjalasafn Borgarfjarðar.

24. For more information on Jóhannes Jónsson, see Driscoll, *The Unwashed Children of Eve*, 64–67; Driscoll, 'The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland', 55.

25. Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 108.

been previously attributed to Jóhannes' hand, L1217, which also falls out of the scope of the register either because it is too early or because it is not Jóhannes who copied it (see further discussion in Section 3.1).

Textual relationships in A_1

A_1 manuscripts distinguish themselves from the rest of the A-tradition by very clear changes made to the text. Below there are a few examples where M27, L1767, L381, and G52 all agree against the remaining manuscripts of *17HsG*.[26]

Rafn] A_1.

móðurföður sínum] afa sínum.

Kári hafði jafnan 8 eðr 12 í hverju höggi] og brytjar Kári niður lið víkinga.

ok ræna drauga fè] að vinna drauga og brjóta upp hauga.

hann segir, at hann má sigla rètt suðr] Máni segir rétt í suður.

rètt fyrir framstafni] ÷.

Þráinn hafði verit [...] ok mikit fè með sèr] ÷.

There are not enough type-two variants within this text-subgroup to allow more precise classification, but when we take into consideration the chronology of the examined manuscripts and the minor variants appearing in their texts of *17HsG* it is unlikely that any of them could be an exemplar for the remaining members in this group.

L381 cannot be the common exemplar, even though it is the oldest manuscript in this group, due to the following reading:

af landi svört ský (Rafn, G52, L1767, M27)] 'af landi hvertský' (L381).

The reading 'hvert' is clearly an error which would be difficult to correct back to the original reading 'svört'.

Similarly, M27 cannot be the common exemplar of the remaining texts due to readings such as:

rigaðu þèr á fætr, ragr ok blauðr] rigaðu þér á fætur ragur og duglaus, sért þú ekki blauður (G52, L381, L1767), 'rigadu þ*ér* á fætr rag*ur* oc duglaus, sér tu e*kk*i duglaus' (M27).

26. The readings are collated against Rafn's edition for the reader's convenience.

Here, the repetition of 'duglaus' is a clear error which is unlikely to be corrected back to 'blauður'.

G52 cannot be the exemplar for this group both due to its dating and due to readings such as:

Sá konungur réði fyrir Görðum í Danmörk (Rafn, L1767, L381, M27)] 'Fyrir Gaurþom í Danm*o*rk réþi k*on*gr sá' (G52).

Hröngviður vó Örnúlf upp á spjóti sínu (Rafn, L1767, L381, M27)] 'síþan*n* vegur Hraungviþr Örnulf up*p* á spiotino oc kast*ar* d*au*dom niþr' (G52).

Finally, L1767 cannot be the common exemplar due to its dating and readings such as:

Bræður 2 Kári og Örnúlfur voru landvarnarmenn konungs, (+ og G52, L381, M27) hermenn miklir (Rafn, G52, L381, M27)] 'tveir b*ræður* v*o*ru la*n*dv*arn*ar*menn* k*on*gs þe*i*r hétu Kár *og* Ørnulf*ur*, þe*i*r v*o*ru h*er*me*nn* mikl*ir*' (L1767).

Nú er þess getit, at Hrómundr Greipsson var í fylgð með konúngi] Hrómundur var með konungi (G52, L381, M27), 'þ*ad* v*ar* Hrómund*ur* Greipsson með k*on*gi' (L1767).

At the same time L1767 is clearly not a direct descendant of any other manuscript in this group, due to examples such as:

Eptir það gengu þeir, sem eptirlifðu, allir á hendr konúngi, ok lyktaðist svâ bardaginn] 'Eptir þad geingu k*on*gi aller til handa' (G52), Eftir það gengu allir konungi til handa (L381, M27), 'ept*ir* þ*ad* ge*n*gu all*ir* k*on*gi t*il* h*an*da þeir s*em* ept*ir* lifdu' (L1767).

This is one of the examples, where L1767 preserves an 'original' reading of the text, in this case the phrase 'þeir sem eptirlifðu', which is omitted in the remaining manuscripts in text-group A_1.

The presented evidence suggests that all four texts in text-group A_1 are independent from each other, but derived from a common ancestor, A_1. The last example on the list above, the omission which appears in G52, L381, M27 but not in L1767, suggests that G52, L381, M27 originate from a common ancestor, A_4, which introduced this omission (see the stemma in Figure 3.2 on page 99).

Text-group A_2

The four manuscripts of text-group A_2 are (in supposed chronological order):

- ÍB 43 fol. (I43), written between 1730 and 1770,
- BL Add. 11108 (B11108), written in the eighteenth century,
- Lbs 1217 4to (L1217), written in 1817,
- Lbs 3164 4to (L3164), written in 1879.

ÍB 43 fol.

ÍB 43 fol. (I43), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,[27] consists of v+114–vii leaves gathered in 22 quires. The quire structure is: I-IV^4, V-VII^6, VIII-IX^4, X-XI^6, XII^2 + one singleton, XIII-XIV^6, XV^4 + one singleton, XVI-XX^6, XXI^4, XXII^6.The quires of two or three conjoint leaves dominate, but it is clear from the irregularities in the quire structures that there has been some intervention into the manuscript's structure. For example, quire XII consists of three leaves, one conjoint and one singleton. It preserves *Eiríks saga víðförla* on six pages, but this quire most likely originally consisted of two conjoint leaves (four leaves, eight pages). Similarly, quire XV consists of two conjoint leaves and one singleton, preserving *17HsG* on 10 pages, but we can assume that this quire used to be a regular three conjoint leaf quire (six leaves, 12 pages). The manuscript in its current form consists of nine units, and excluding one text, *Friðþjófs saga*, all sagas start on a new quire: *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* (ff. 1r–12v, quires I–III), *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* (ff. 13r–38v, quires IV-VIII), *Áns saga bogsveigis* (ff. 39r–48v, quires IX–X), *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns* (ff. 49r–54r, quire XI), *Eiríks saga víðförla* (ff. 55r–57v, quire XII), *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* (ff. 58r–69v, quires XIII–XIV), *17HsG* (ff. 70r–74v, quire XV), *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* (ff. 75r–80v, quire XVI), and finally in quires XVII–XXII *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* (ff. 81r–102r) and *Friðþjófs saga* (ff. 102v–114v).

Further evidence that the manuscript's organization has been changed can also be found by examining the traces of the older pagination present on some of the leaves.[28] The pagination does not

27. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:725.

28. It is certain that the numerals written in the top right corners of some of the leaves are pagination, not foliation, because f. 39r has the number 70, f. 39v has

correspond to the present organization of the manuscript. The reconstructed manuscript would probably have texts in the following order: 1. an unknown text or texts, a lacuna of 69 pages (pp. 1–69), 2. *Áns saga bogsveigis*, pp. 70–89, 3. *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, pp. 90–113, 4. *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, pp. 114–165, 5. an unknown text or texts, a lacuna of 12 pages (pp. 167–177), 6. *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* pp. 178–220, 7. *Friðþjófs saga* pp. 221–245, 8. an unknown text or texts, a lacuna of 12 pages (pp. 246–257), 9. *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns* pp. 258–269, 10. *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* pp. 270–293. Some of the listed lacunas could be filled in by other texts present in I43 where the pagination is illegible, such as *Eiríks saga víðförla*, which occupies six pages (but probably used to belong to the quire of eight pages), *17HsG*, which occupies 10 pages (but probably used to belong to the quire of 12 pages), and *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* which occupies 12 pages. It is impossible to determine which other texts would fill in the remaining 65 pages.

According to the catalogue,[29] the manuscript was written circa 1750, but the hand and origin of the manuscript is unknown. Not much is known about the history of I43, or its provenance, other than that the Icelandic Literary Society (Hið íslenzka bókmenntafélag) received it in 1858/9 from Pétur Jónsson from Kálfatjörn (1778–1865). On a blueish slip of paper accompanying I43 there is a list of sagas preserved in the manuscript followed by the note 'Frá Síra Pétri Jónssyni' (From Rev. Pétur Jónsson).

BL Add. 11108

BL Add. 11108 (B11108), held in the British Library in London, is a composite manuscript which contains v+246+v leaves. The manuscript was bound (or rebound) in 1970, and not much can be said about the original context of the texts the manuscript contains and its quire structure. B11108 today consists of twelve or fourteen parts, depending on how one counts,[30] preserving the following texts: two copies of *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Bósa saga og*

71, and f. 40r has 72. The pagination in *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* continues also in *Friðþjófs saga*.

29. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:733.

30. Jón Helgason, in his 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library', distinguishes thirteen separate parts.

Herrauðs, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 105r–112r), two copies of *Sörla saga sterka*, *Jóns saga Upplendingakonungs*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Sörla þáttur*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Sigurðar þáttur slefu*, *Söguþáttur af Sigurði gangandi Bárðarsyni*. The texts are preceded by twelve title pages numbered from 14 to 26, two of which introduce two texts: nr. 20: 'Saga af Sörla enum Sterka' and 'Þáttr af Jóni Upplendinga-Kóngi'; nr. 26: 'Þáttr af Þorkéli Klipp' and 'Saga af Sigurdi Gángandi, Bárdar syni'.

Most of the texts were written in the eighteenth century, as various dates are attested in different places: 1714 on f. 104 and f. 216v, 1718 on f. 237r and f. 240, 1761 on f. 138r, and 1813 on f. 190v. Around thirteen different main scribal hands can be distinguished, which are not evenly distributed throughout the manuscript. One more hand, certainly a nineteenth-century hand, supplied the title pages (ff. 1r, 18r, 138bis) for the individual items. The distribution of the scribal hands is as follows: Hand 1 (ff. 2r–17v), Hand 2 (ff. 19r–68v), Hand 3 (ff. 69r–77v), Hand 4 (ff. 78r–104v dated to 1714, possibly also ff. 209r–216v), Hand 5 (ff. 105r–112r, 158r–159r, 191r–208v, and possibly also ff. 160r–184r:10), Hand 6 (ff. 113r–138r, dated to 1761, signed by Jakob Sigurðsson from Sauðanes),[31] Hand 7 (ff. 139r–142v), Hand 8 (ff. 143r–157v, signed by Gottskálk Jónsson),[32] Hand 9 (ff. 160r–184r:10, possibly the same hand as Hand 5), Hand 10 (ff. 184r:11–190v, dated to 1813),[33] Hand 11 (ff. 217r–223v), Hand 12 (ff. 224r–237v and 239r–240v, dated to 1718), Hand 13 (ff. 241–246v). This physical heterogeneity of the manuscript confirms that it was not designed as a single unit, but rather is the result of later interventions aggregating individual parts into a single volume.

17HsG is written on ff. 105r–112r, forming the fourth part of the manuscript, and it is written in hand 5. This hand has not yet been found in any signed manuscript, which would allow us

31. According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, it is probably Jakob Sigurðsson (n.d.), a poet from Vopnafjörður, for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:12.

32. According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, it is probably Gottskálk Jónsson (d. 1757) from Hvanneyri, for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, II:93.

33. According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, it is probably written by Halldór Davíðsson (1792–1865), a poet from Prestbakkakot, for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, II:250.

to identify the scribe by name and narrow down the dating of this part.

The manuscript belongs to the collection of Icelandic manuscripts purchased by the British Museum in 1837 from Finnur Magnússon (1781–1847), a professor of literature at the University of Copenhagen.[34] This is confirmed by the note on the recto side of the third front-fly-leaf, which reads 'Purch*es*ed of Prof*essor* | Finn Magnusen | July 1837'). Frederic Madden (1801–1873), first an Assistant Keeper and later Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, was responsible for the transaction with Finnur Magnússon. He purchased 437 items for a sum of 180 British pounds, which he considered to be a very high price for manuscripts in such poor condition as those in Finnur's collection. Madden wrote in one of his letters: 'the greater part [of the collection] are sad trash, and scarcely worth binding. The condition of many of them is absolutely stinking, & I never had a worse job than to examine & arrange them'.[35] Apparently, some items were bound together into single volumes after they arrived in London, and B11108 must be one of them.[36]

Lbs 1217 4to

Lbs 1217 4to (L1217), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,[37] consists of 205 unbound leaves. The fragile state of the manuscript does not allow for the examination of the quire structure. The volume opens with a title page and a table of contents, followed by *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Þorsteins saga hvíta*, *Bernótus saga Borneyjarkappa*, *Líkafróns saga og kappa hans*, *Rígabels saga konungs og Alkanus*, *Faustus saga og Ermenu í Serklandi*, *Nikulás saga leikara*, *Adónías saga*, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, *Sigurgarðs saga frækna*, *Starkaðar saga gamla*, *17HsG* (ff. 163v–166v), *Áns saga*

34. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XI:57-63.

35. Porter, 'Preserving the Past: England, Iceland and the Movement of Manuscripts', 177.

36. The separate parts of the manuscripts were individually numbered and catalogued, see: AM 925 4to, a copy of Finnur Magnússon's catalogue 'Catalogus amplæ Manuscriptorum Collectionis, adhuc Hafniæ servatæ, jam inde Londinum Museo Brit- annico mittendæ, auctore Finn Magnuson (sic)'. The collection today is held in the British Library with the shelfmarks Add. 11061–11251.

37. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:474.

bogsveigis, *Hálfdanar saga gamla*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, and *Placidus saga*.

17HsG, preserved on ff. 163v–166v, is followed by a colophon which reads 'Endud ad Störa Watnshorni j Haukadal [Dag] | 29da May 1817 af J.Jönssyne', providing us with information about its place and date of writing.

The first bifolio is a later addition; it contains a title page and a table of contents in the hand of Jón Þorkelsson (1859–1924), an archivist and doctor of philosophy from the University of Copenhagen.[38] The title page of L1217 provides information on the provenance of the manuscript, identifying the scribe, one of the previous owners, Daði Davíðsson (1859–1955) from Kötlustaðir, and a 'middleman', Björn Sigfússon (1849–1932). It reads:

> Sögubók | skrifuð á Vatnshorni i Haukaldal 1817 af J(ón'as'i) Jóns-|syni. | [Kom 4/11 1896 frá Daða Daviðssyni | á Kötlustöðum i Vatnsdal, fyrir milligaungu Björns alþingismanns Sigfússonlar í Grímstungum.]
>
> (A saga book, written at Vatnshorn in Haukadalur 1817 by Jón (or Jónas) Jónsson. Arrived on 4 November 1896 from Daði Davíðsson from Kötlustaðir in Vatnsdalur, through the member of parliament Björn Sigfússon from Grímstunga.)

Not much is known about Daði Davíðsson and how he came into the possession of L1217. Björn Sigfússon (1849–1932) was a member of the Icelandic parliament in the years 1892–1900 and 1908–1911. Björn, however, spent most of his life as a farmer, or *bóndi*, in Vatnsdalur in Northern Iceland, first at Hof in the years 1882–1886, later at Grímstunga in the years 1886–1889, and finally in Kornsá in the years 1899–1925.[39]

The identification of the scribe, named J. Jónsson, is problematic. He could perhaps be identified as Jónas Jónsson (1767–1839), the son of Jón Egilsson from Stóra-Vatnshorn. It has been argued, however, that, regardless of the information provided on the title page, the manuscript had to be copied by Jóhannes Jónsson

38. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:313–314.

39. See his biography on 'Björn Sigfússon', archived on 9/07/2022 at https://web.archive.org/web/20220709091351/https://www.althingi.is/altext/cv/is/?nfaerslunr=92.

(1798–1877), known as Jóhannes the blind.[40] This is because, according to the census of 1816, Jónas Jónsson (1767–1839) was a *bóndi* at Sælingsdalstunga at that time, so he could not have copied the manuscript in Stóra-Vatnshorn. At the same time, his brother Árni Jónsson (1754–1825) was a *bóndi* at Stóra-Vatnshorn,[41] where Jóhannes Jónsson is listed as a *vinnumaður*.

This explanation seems convincing, but poses some challenges regarding the scribal hand attribution. The script type of L1217 is remarkably different than the script used by Jóhannes in other manuscripts, among them L1767, making attribution based on palaeographic grounds simply impossible.[42] Additionally, we cannot exclude the possibility that Jónas Jónsson (1767–1839) was temporarily staying at his brother's farm at some point in 1817 and copied the manuscript there. It is necessary to conduct further study of Jóhannes' and Jónas' manuscripts in order to confirm the scribal hand identification.

The manuscript was acquired by the National Library of Iceland in 1904 when Jón Þorkelsson sold his collection of manuscripts.[43]

Lbs 3164 4to

Lbs 3164 4to (L3164), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík,[44] consists of 161 leaves, gathered in 36 quires of thick paper without any watermarks. The quire structure is: I-VIII^4, IX^2, X-XIII^4, XIV^2, XV-XXXVI^4.[45] The leaves are paginated in pencil, and the pagination divides the manuscript into three sections which probably correspond to the units of the manuscript's production.

40. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703-1961*, I:307, II:29; Kristinn Kristjánsson, 'Tvær sögur eignaðar séra Jóni Oddssyni Hjaltalín: Sagan af Reimari keisara og Fal hinum sterka og sagan af Bernóti Borneyjarkappa', 16–18.

41. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703-1961*, I:322.

42. This has been already observed by Driscoll, who considered the differences too significant to warrant attribution, see: Driscoll, *The Unwashed Children of Eve*, 66–67.

43. See the manuscript description on *Handrit.org*, archived on 20/03/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240320103902/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-1217/.

44. L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 52.

45. It seems that quire XXI consists of 1 hook, 1 conjoint leaf, and 1 singleton, but this might be an effect of a damaged regular quire of two conjoint leaves.

Each section is followed by a blank page (ff. 34v and 52v) where there is an overlap between text boundaries and quire boundaries.

The texts appear in the following order: *Hinriks saga heilráða* (p. 1–68, ff. 1r–34r, quires I–IX), *Ajax saga keisarasonar* and *Knúts saga Steinssonar heimska* (p. 1–36, ff. 35r–52r, quires X–XIV), and on p. 1–218 (ff. 53r–161v, quires XV–XXVI) the remaining sagas, *Knúts saga Steinssonar heimska*, *Sigurðar saga turnara*, *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *17HsG* (ff. 79v–86r), *Ajax saga frækna*, *Þorgríms saga konungs og kappa hans*, *Rímur af Sigurði og Smáfríði*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*.

The manuscript was written around the year 1879, as this date appears in the colophon on f. 34r. All the texts are written in one hand. Thanks to the signed colophons, for example, on ff. 36v, 60v, and 102r, the hand can be identified as that of Þorvaldur Skúlason Sívertsen (1859–1919), a bookbinder from Hrappsey.[46] L3164 is the only known manuscript in Þorvaldur's hand, and not much is known about his scribal activity.

It is unknown when and how the National Library acquired L3164.

Textual relationships in A_2

There are several changes that manuscripts of text-group A_2 introduce to the text of *17HsG* which allow them to be grouped together, for example:

Rafn] A_2.

fyrir Görðum í Danmörk] fyrir Danmörk.

frægr] frækinn.

augnafagr] augnabjartur.

The relationships among the members of this text-sub-group are difficult to establish, but there are some clear patterns, which include L3164 being a direct descendant of L1217, and, lacking any evidence to the contrary, I43 being likely the exemplar for the remaining texts of A_2.

B11108 cannot be an ancestor of this text-sub-group as it contains readings such as:

46. Jón Guðnason, *Dalamenn: æviskrár 1703–1961*, II:229.

að mér þótti koma (+ hér L1217) ⌜af (að L1217, L3164) landi (+ hér L3164) svört ský (Rafn, I43, L1217, L3164)] 'at svørt sky komu af lande' (B11108).

There is a close relationship between L1217 and L3164, as demonstrated by readings such as:

þar bjó einn ríkur bóndi (Rafn, B11108, I43)] þar var einn ríkur bóndi (L1217, L3164).

þau áttu 9 syni, er svá hétu (Rafn, B11108, I43)] þau áttu þann son er Hrómundur hét og aðra sonu er svo hétu (L1217, L3164).

Nú er konúngs systr sóktar (Rafn, B11108, I43)] Þessu næst er Svanhvít sókt (L1217, L3164).

Finally, there are numerous independent innovations introduced in L3164, for example:

að griót og steinar gengu upp (Rafn, B11108, L1217, I43)] 'og gekk upp fyrir þeim grjót' (L3164).

⌜rétt (÷ B11108) fyrir framstafni, þeir ⌜sigldu (komu Rafn) vestan að Valladni, (+ ok Rafn) fundu hauginn (Rafn, Í43, L1217, B11108)] ÷ L3164.

This omission of an entire sentence in the latter example is a clear eye-skip, from one occurrence of 'hauginn' to another. It most likely originates directly from L1217 where they appear in close proximity to each other, one above the other in the middle of two adjacent lines (lines 26 and 27 on f. 167r).

Another example suggesting that L3164 is based directly on L1217 is the reading:

'o*k* si*er*tu e*kk*e blaud*ur*' (L1217)] 'og sittu ekki blauður' (L3164).

In L1217, the abbreviation of 'er' in *siertu* is written in-line and can easily be mistaken for the letter 't'. This is probably how and why *sért þú* became *sittu*.

No evidence has been found to conclude that L1217 is independent of I43. Therefore, it is most likely its descendant. I43 preserves the most conservative readings in this group and does not introduce any significant variants, therefore, lacking any evidence to the contrary, I43 is the most likely exemplar for the remaining manuscripts in text-sub-group A_2.

Manuscript context

Texts of seventy-four works appear together with *17HsG* in the manuscripts classified as members of text-sub-groups A_1 and A_2. Fourteen of them co-occur with *17HsG* more than once, but only five of them more than three times: *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Starkaðar saga gamla*.

It is important to notice that one saga distinguishes itself remarkably in the number of co-occurrences with *17HsG* in these text-sub-groups: *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*. It appears together with *17HsG* in 63% of the manuscripts (five out of eight: L1767, L381, B11108, I43, L3164). *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* appeared together with *17HsG* in the second volume of Rafn's edition of the legendary sagas, and its text was printed immediately after *17HsG*. It is, however, unlikely that Rafn's edition had direct influence on the organization of the texts in these manuscripts.[47] First, three of them pre-date the publication of the edition, and second, none of these manuscripts preserves these two sagas in the same order as they appear in the edition.

The co-occurrence of these two sagas may not be coincidental. There are numerous parallels between *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* and *17HsG*, including but not limited to the great battle on the frozen lake Vänern and the importance of prophetic dreams. *Starkaðar saga gamla* and *Friðþjófs saga*, which also frequently co-occur with *17HsG* in these manuscripts, give accounts of events related to Þorsteinn's descendants. They probably appear in these manuscripts because of their relationship to *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* rather than to *17HsG*.[48]

Finally, two other sagas frequently co-occurring with *17HsG* in these manuscripts, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* and *Hálfdanar saga Ey-*

47. It is clear from textual analysis that these manuscripts are not related to Rafn's edition.

48. A recent study on *Starkaðar saga gamla* has been published by Bampi, 'Starkaður across the Centuries: Strategies of Rewriting and Manuscript Variation in *Starkaðar saga gamla*'. For a discussion of the role of *fornaldarsögur*, including *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* and *Friðþjófs saga*, in the historical writing of the late seventeenth century, see: O'Connor, 'Putrid Fables and True Histories: Perceptions of Authenticity and the Management of Scepticism in Northern Humanist *fornaldarsaga* Scholarship'.

steinssonar, contain direct mentions of Hrómundur. *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* mentions him in its first chapter, when King Þrándur is introduced together with his wife Dagmær, who was a sister of Hrómundur's wife Svanhvít. *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka* mentions Hrómundur's mother Gunnlöð as a daughter of Hrólfur the black. Taking both these references into account the co-occurrence of these sagas within these text-sub-groups seems to be closely related to the genealogical relations between the characters mentioned in them. A further study of single manuscripts in these text-sub-groups should be a priority for future research. It might reveal further patterns of relationships and help us better understand these sagas in the contexts in which they appear.

3.2 Text-group B

The younger manuscripts of text-group B can be further categorised into five text-groups, B_{1-5}. As illustrated in Figure 3.3, they are closely related to the texts preserved in the manuscripts written by Jón Þórðarson. Some of them preserve texts of *17HsG* which are direct descendants of Jón Þórðarson's texts, while others share a common ancestor (B) with them. All texts in this group reproduce the peculiar readings present in the oldest manuscripts in text-group B (discussed in Section 2.4), such as:

B_{1-5}] A, C.
frá söguna] fregn þessa.
á veg komnir] á leið komnir.
kú]ský.
Svílöð] Gunnlöð.[49]

From a textual perspective, most of the manuscripts in text-group B are fairly conservative. With the exception of the manuscripts in text-group B_1, the manuscripts in this group reproduce the readings introduced in the oldest manuscripts with only minor changes. B_1, however, introduces extensive innovations into the text of *17HsG*, which has led me to edit it separately as *18HsG*. From the perspective of the history of transmission of *17HsG* and the geographical distribution of the manuscripts, some of the manuscripts in text-group B, especially B_3, provide valuable insights into the production and dissemination of early-modern manuscripts in Iceland. They allow us to trace their ownership history in the scribal networks of western Iceland.

49. Exceptions are manuscripts JS 634 4to (J634) and Lbs 840 4to (L840), which preserve texts categorised as B-group even though they share the reading 'Gunnlöð' with group A instead of 'Svijlöð'. The name 'Gunnlöð', which appears in the description of the fight with Þráinn, can easily be a correction introduced by an attentive scribe of the common ancestor of L840 and J634 (B_1), as at the beginning of the story Hrómundur's mother is introduced as 'Gunnlöð' in L840 (f. 256v:8 and f. 254r:13) and J634 (f. 89r:10 and f. 92r:9). These two manuscripts, however, join text-group B in other major readings.

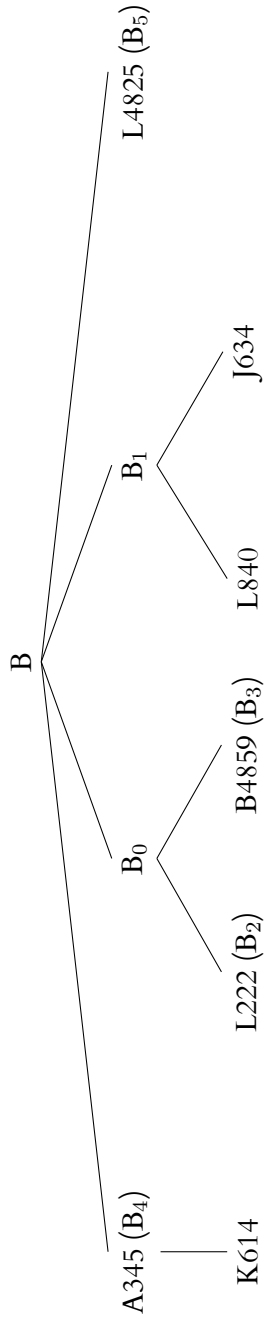

Figure 3.3: Stemma of text-group B

Text-group B_1

Text-group B_1 is particularly interesting from the textual point of view, as the manuscripts in this group introduce extensive innovations into the text of *17HsG*. Text-group B_1 contains two manuscripts:

- Lbs 840 4to (L840), written in 1737.
- JS 634 4to (J634), in which *17HsG* was written in 1767.

The texts of these two manuscripts often parallel with each other but diverge significantly from the remaining manuscripts within text-group B, creating a separate version to which I refer as *18HsG*. The texts in both L840 and J634 are divided into eight chapters, whereas other manuscripts in text-group B consist of five or six chapters. Moreover, numerous passages in the saga are paraphrased in B_1, resulting in the text of *18HsG* being much more verbose than the rest of the *17HsG* tradition.

Almost half a century passed between the writing of *17HsG* in A601 and the copying of *18HsG*. On one hand, *18HsG* could be seen as the result of long transmission of the text and the gradual accumulation of variants. On the other hand, it might be viewed as an intentional intervention into the saga's style. It is impossible to know how many manuscripts preserving *17HsG* have been lost in the meantime, and hence it is equally impossible to determine with any certainty which scenario is more likely. The only certainty is that the changes must have been introduced already in the common ancestor of L840 and J634 (B_1).

The change in style of *18HsG*, when compared to *17HsG*, can be observed at the sentence level, as demonstrated by the following examples:

Rafn] B_1.

Sa konúngr rèð fyrir Görðum í Danmörk] Það er upphaf ⌜þessarar sögu (sögu þessarar L840) að konungur sá réð fyrir Görðum.

Eptir fall þeirra bræðra kallar Hraungviðr, at þeir skuli uppgefast] enn er þeir bræður voru fallnir kallar Hrau[...] til filgdar manna þeirra at þeir skuli gefast upp i sitt valld.

ok kvað meiri fremd, at brjóta hauga ok ræna drauga fè] og kvað litla fremd að ræna kotkarla, væri það miklu meiri frami, segir hann, að brjóta hauga, og afla sér þaðan fjár.

In general, the changes introduced into the text of *18HsG* can be seen as stylistic improvements. Considering exclusively the above examples, some readers might say that the text becomes more verbose and by that its flow is improved, while others might argue that such stylistic amplifications are superficial and superfluous. There are, however, multiple instances where the text of *18HsG* contains more explanatory phrases which introduce more logic to the narration, giving it a clear cause-effect structure.

This becomes quite noticeable when we compare the description of the fight between Helgi and Hrómundur in the following passage, where the modified phrases are underlined in both texts:

Helgi reiddi svâ hátt sverð sitt upp yfir sik, at þat tók sundr fótlegg álftarinnar, ok rendi sverðit ofan i (völlinn) upp at hjöltum, ok mælti: nú er mín heill farin, ok illa tókst til, er ek mista þín. Hrómundr mælti: þú vannst, Helgi! hit mesta slis, er þú drapst sjálfr frillu þína, ok farin mân þín heill; datt Lara dauð niðr. En af því höggi, er Helgi hjó til Hrómundar, svâ sverðit ljóp at hjöltum ofan, snart oddr sverðsins kvið Hrómundar, ok risti niðr, en Helgi laut eptir högginu; var þá Hrómundr eigi seinn, ok höggr Mistilteini í höfuð Helga (Rafn, pp. 374–5).

Reidde Helge þä svo hätt sv*er*d sitt up*p* ijf*ir* sig, at þ*ad* tök sund*ur* fötlegg Alft*ar*en*nar og* Rende sverd*id* of*an* ij Jsen*n* up*p* at hiólltu*m* þ*ar* er h*ann* miste Hrom*und*, þ*ar* er h*ann* brä si*er* und*an* þä m*æl*te Helge, nu er faren*n* mijn heill *og* Jlla tökst t*il* er eg mista þijn, datt K*ä*r*a* þä d*au*d nid*ur*, Hrom*undur* m*æl*te Nu vanstu Helge h*id* vesta slis, er þu dr*a*pst siälf*ur* fridlu þij*na og* faren*n* m*un* þijn heill, en*n* af þ*ess*u sama h*ögge* er Helge hiö t*il* Hrömu*ndar* sn*ar*t odd*ur*en*n* sv*er*dsins kvid Hröm*undar og* Riste nid*ur* en*n* Helge laut efftir hógg*e*nu er sverd*id* fessist ij Jsnu*m* s*e*m firr v*ar* sagt, v*ar*d Hrom*und*ur ei hand seirn, *og* hogg*ur* Mistilteine i hófud Helga (L840, f. 258r).

In the case of *17HsG*, we learn that Helgi's blow missed Hrómundur only through the direct speech of Helgi: 'nú er mín heill farin, ok illa tókst til, er ek mista þín'. In *18HsG*, an additional sentence appears before Helgi speaks the same words: 'þ*ar* er h*ann* miste Hrom*und*, þ*ar* er h*ann* brä si*er* und*an* þä m*æl*te Helge, nu er faren*n* mijn heill *og* Jlla tökst t*il* er eg mista þijn'. The additional sentence

provides context to the direct speech. The reader of *18HsG* does not need to assume that Hrómundur avoided Helgi's blow, it is stated explicitly, giving a better flow to the narration.

The logical order of events is also clarified in the sentences following Helgi's direct speech. In *17HsG* Hrómundur first says that it is unfortunate that Helgi killed Kára accidentally, and then Kára dies: 'þú vannst, Helgi! hit mesta slis, er þú drapst sjálfr frillu þína, ok farin mán þín heill; datt Lara dauð niðr'. The text of *18HsG* first reports Kára's death and then Hrómundur comments on the events: 'datt Kär*a* þä d*au*d nid*ur*, Hrom*undur* m*æl*te Nu vanstu Helge h*id* vesta slis, er þu d*ra*pst siälf*ur* fridlu þij*na og* faren*n* m*un* þijn heill'.

Finally, *18HsG* provides an additional explanatory phrase that clarifies why Hrómundur had the opportunity to strike Helgi and kill him. In *17HsG* we read only: 'en Helgi laut eptir högginu; var þá Hrómundr eigi seinn, ok höggr Mistilteini í höfuð Helga', which does not give much context. We do not know whether Helgi bends down because his strike is so powerful that he follows his sword, dragged down by its force, or for some other reason. If the first explanation is correct, then it is strange that Helgi first has time to comment on his luck and then bends down. This is probably why *18HsG* introduces an additional explanation: 'en*n* Helge laut efftir hógg*e*nu er sverd*id* fessist ij Jsnu*m* s*e*m firr v*ar* sagt, v*ar*d Hrom*un*d*ur* ei hand seirn, *og* hog*gur* Mistilteine i hófud Helga'. The text explains that Helgi bends down to take his sword out of the ice, giving Hrómundur the possibility to strike him.

There are numerous examples of such explanatory phrases throughout the text of *18HsG* which make the narrative easier to follow. This is especially clear at the beginning of chapter eight of Rafn's edition (corresponding to chapter four in our edition of *17HsG*) with chapter six of *18HsG*:

Nú eru konúngs systr sóktar, kannar Svanhvít sár Hrómundar, ok saumar kviðinn saman, ok leitar honum hæginda. Hún lèt færa hann karli þeim til græðslu, er Hagall hèt; kerlíng hans var klók; þau tóku vel við honum, ok græddu hann at heilu. Þat fann Hrómundr, at þessi hjón voru margkunnug (Rafn, p. 376).

Sva er sagt at þeg*ar* Svanhvijt K*ongs* sist*ir* frett*ir* Hrom*und* miǫg sär*an*, v*era* f*er* h*un* ä h(a)ns fund *og* saum*ar* sam*an* kviden*n* m*ed* silke þræde *og* smir sijd*an*, leitande h*onum* all*ra* þ(ei)ra hægenda er h*un* k*an*, liet syd*an* f*æra* h*an*n karle þ*ei*m t*il* grædslu er Hagall het, kierljjng h*an*ns v*ar* klök n*ock*ut, þau töku v*el* v*id* h*onum og* græddu h*an*n at heilo, ä laun, þ*ad* f*ann* Hröm*undur* at þau v*oru* klök n*ock*ut *og* m*ar*g kun*n*ig (L840, f. 258v).

Here the laconic statement of *17HsG* that the king's sisters were summoned ('Nú eru konúngs systr sóktar') is replaced in *18HsG* with a more verbose introduction, which explains why Svanhvít comes to heal Hrómundur: 'Sva er sagt at þeg*ar* Svanhvijt K*ongs* sist*ir* frett*ir* Hrom*undur* miǫg sär*an*, v*era* f*er* h*un* ä h(a)ns fund'. So, in *18HsG*, Svanhvít learns that Hrómundur is badly wounded and this is why she comes to help him.

Neither version explains, however, how Svanhvít found out about Hrómundur's wounds, as all of Hrómundur's brothers are already dead at this point and no one else, besides Svanhvít herself, knew that Hrómundur decided to help Ólafur upon her personal request. An explanation, which would be desirable for a modern reader, is apparently not that important for the story development from the perspective of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century audiences of *17HsG* and *18HsG*. What is important, is simply the fact that Svanhvít comes and sews Hrómundur's wounds. In *18HsG*, however, an additional piece of information is provided, specifying that the thread she used was made of silk. A rather peculiar addition, but at the same time the use of silk to sew abdominal wounds appears in line with the contemporary medical practice.[50]

Because of this extensive level of modification, *18HsG* opens up possibilities for a closer comparative analysis with *17HsG* and *19HsG*. A detailed comparative analysis has the potential to reveal some interesting stylistic patterns which could be interpreted as

50. I would like to thank Shaun Hughes for pointing this out to me.

manifestations of the eighteenth-century reception of the story of Hrómundur, or expressions of the changing saga style. Such explorations, however, remain beyond the scope of the present study. Instead, in the following sections, we turn to the two manuscripts of *18HsG* and the textual relationship between them.

Lbs 840 4to

Lbs 840 4to (L840), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto which consists of i+334-i leaves of watermarked paper.[51] The leaves are gathered into 54 irregular quires, and the structure appears to be as follows: I_{10} (1 and 2 added singletons), II^8, III^8 (6 and 7 blank additions), IV^8, V^8 (6 blank addition), VI^8, VII^6, $VIII^8$, IX^8 (wants 8), X^8, XI^6 (wants 6), XII^6, $XIII^8$–XIV^8, XV^6, XVI^8, $XVII^8$–$XVIII^8$, XIX^4, XX^8, XXI^4–$XXIV^4$, XXV^8, $XXVI^{10}$ (9 and 10 blank additions), $XXVII^8$–$XXIX^8$, XXX^4, $XXXI^8$ (5–8 blank additions), $XXXII^4$–$XXXIX^4$, XL^4 (1 blank addition), XLI^4, $XLII^6$ (1 blank addition), $XLIII^6$–$XLIV^6$, XLV^4– $XLVI^4$, $XLVII^6$, $XLVIII^4$ (singletons), $XLIX^6$ (6 blank addition), L^6, LI^8– $LIII^8$, LIV^4 (singletons).

The codex opens with two title pages followed by *Fóstbræðra saga*, *Harðar saga*, *Heiðarvíga saga*, *Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa* , 'Explicatio yfer Hallmundar vísur', *Ölkofra þáttur*, *Bergbúa þáttur*, *Rémundar saga keisarasonar*, *Helenu saga*, *Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns*, *Viktors saga og Blávus*, *Ectors saga*, *Eiríks saga víðförla*, *17HsG* (ff. 254r–260r), *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Sörla þáttur*, *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*, *Guimars saga*, *Jóns saga leikara*, *Partalópa saga*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*, and a table of contents. Many of the texts preserved in the manuscript, including *17HsG* are defective and blank pages were supplied at some later point, probably with the intention to fill in the lacunas.

According to the title page(s), the manuscript was written in 1737 in Skarð in north-western Iceland:[52]

51. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:369.

52. The first two leaves of the manuscript contain title pages which present the same information but have a slightly different arrangement of the text.

> Frödlegur | Sagna fiesiödur | Jnnehalldande | Velmargar Afbragds vænar Historliur, sem skijra frä, frægd og frama-|-verkum*m* Jslendskra Kappa, Samt | Útlendra Könga, Hertoga og Jalla, [...] Epter þeim Æfe=Elldstu og ordriettustu | Bökum*m* sem tilfeingist hafa saman*n*-|-dregnar Og Uppskrifadar | þeim Til skiemtunar | er lesa og heyra | gyrnast | Skrifad ad Skarde á Skards-|-strønd | Anno Domini MDCCXXXVIJ (L840, f. 1r).
>
> (An informative treasure trove of sagas containing many excellent stories, which describe the fame and achievements of Icelandic champions, as well as foreign kings, dukes, and earls […] according to the oldest and most accurate books available, collected and written down for the entertainment of those who wish to read and hear. Written at Skarð in Skarðsströnd AD 1736.)

In 1737, a well-known manuscript commissioner, Bjarni Pétursson (1681–1768), a *sýslumaður* (county administrative), was living on Skarð. He resided there between 1705 and 1748 and then again from 1756 until his death. He was married to Elín Þorsteinsdóttir from Skarð and he 'skrifaði upp og lét skrifa upp allmargt handrita, einkum sögur' (copied and commissioned many manuscripts, especially sagas).[53] Therefore, it is highly probable that L840 is associated with his activity as a manuscript commissioner.

While previous scholarship excluded the possibility that L840 is in the hand of Bjarni Pétursson, it is still possible that it was commissioned by him.[54] Many manuscripts commissioned by Bjarni contain elaborate title pages, frequently highly decorated, which describe the contents of the manuscript and usually mention the commissioner. For example, there is an impressive and rich title page of Lbs 423 fol., as well as more modest title pages of JS 8 fol. and Lbs 2319 4to,[55] which somewhat resemble the ones in L840. Furthermore, the hand in which *17HsG* is written in L840 appears similar to the hand found in Lbs 2319 4to, but this requires

53. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:188.

54. Hast, *Pappershandskrifterna till Harðar saga*, 145–147.

55. Recently, Hufnagel focused on the analysis of Lbs 2319 4to, see Hufnagel, 'Texts and Contexts: Bjarni Pétursson and His Saga Manuscript Lbs 2319 4to (1727–1729)'.

further palaeographic analysis to confirm whether or not these two hands are indeed the same.[56]

The text of *17HsG* in L840 is defective. There is a lacuna which equals to ca. 682 words of Rafn's edition. The last clause on f. 258v reads 'E*i*rn m*aður* v*ar* med Hadl|dinge' (Rafn 376:20–21) and the first clause on f. 260r reads 'næt*ur* strijda, Hröm*undur* s*egir* t*il* sijn' (Rafn 379:18–19). An additional leaf (f. 259) has been supplied at some later point in order to fill in the lacuna, but it remains blank.[57]

The last leaves (ff. 331–334) of the manuscript are written in a different hand, which seems to be younger than the majority of the manuscript.[58] On the verso side of the last leaf there is a table of contents, which lists twenty three instead of twenty four items. The omitted item is *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, which immediately follows *17HsG*. The omission must be a matter of error rather than a different structure of the manuscript at the time when the table of contents was supplied, because *Bragða-Ölvis saga* starts on the same leaf where *17HsG* ends and it is written in the same hand, so it is unlikely that the text was supplied later.

There are several names that can be found in the margins of L840, which can be associated with descendants of Bjarni Pétursson: 'Magnús' (f. 304r), 'M.Ketilsson' (f. 182v), 'S.Magnússon' (f. 1r), and 'Eggert [Magn...]' (f. 112v). The first two marginal notes can be associated with Magnús Ketilsson (1732–1803), a *sýslumaður* of Dalasýsla who lived in Búðardalur and was married to Ragnhildur Eggertsdóttir, a granddaughter of Bjarni Pétursson.[59] The third marginal note can be associated with Magnús's son, Skúli Magnússon (1768–1837), who was also a *sýslumaður* of Dalasýsla after his father's death.[60] The last one refers probably to another son of Magnús, Eggert Magnússon. There is also one unclear marginal note,

56. My observation is based on a sample comparison of L840, f. 260r with Lbs 2319 4to, f. 87r.

57. One leaf would be sufficient to supply the missing text if the scribe could follow the text density of L840; there are 312 words on f. 258v, so the lacuna of ca. 682 words would fill both sides of a single leaf.

58. According to Páll Eggert Ólason, the hand can be dated to ca. 1830, but it is uncertain what his argument for such precise dating is based on, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:369.

59. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:440–441.

60. Páll Eggert Ólason, IV:292.

which reads '[J]on Jo[ns]son' (f. 303r), but it is uncertain to whom it refers.

The notes are an important source of information regarding the manuscript's ownership history. They allow us to trace the manuscript's history through three generations of the commissioner's descendants, to the end of the eighteenth century, or the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is probable that Ragnhildur Eggertsdóttir inherited L840 from her father Eggert Bjarnason, the son of Bjarni Pétursson.[61] Eggert Bjarnason is known to have spent the last years of his life with his daughter Ragnhildur in Búðardalur, therefore it is not surprising that her husband's and sons' names are found in the manuscript.

JS 634 4to

JS 634 4to (J634), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of ii+232 leaves mainly of watermarked paper, with some additional paper added to some quires.[62] The leaves are gathered into 39 quires and the structure is as follows: I^{8} (wants 8), II^{8}–XVI^{8}, $XVII^{10}$, $XVIII^{4}$–$XXVI^{4}$, $XXVII^{6}$ (wants 1), $XXVIII^{4}$–$XXXVII^{4}$, $XXXVIII^{6}$, $XXXIX^{8}$.[63]

The manuscript begins with a title page and table of contents (on recto and verso sides of the second fly-leaf) followed by the sagas: *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 89r–96v), *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Mírmanns saga*, *Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*.

61. Páll Eggert Ólason, I:313.

62. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:613.

63. Uncertain structure of quires VIII, XVII, XXVII, XXXVIII, and XXXIX, due to later additions glued to the original leaves. Note that the last leaf of the manuscript, made of bluish paper, blank, and unnumbered [f. 232, or pp. 461–462], is not included in the leaf count in the online catalogue *Handrit.org*, where the count is ii+231. After the manuscript was digitised, it became clear that the last leaf is marked as a rear fly-leaf, which revealed the error in the prose description of the manuscript indicating that f. 231 is blank, while in fact, it is f. 232 that is blank. See the *Handrit.org* description, archived on 9/07/2022 at https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061521/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/JS04-0634 and on 20/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240220111004/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/JS04-0634.

The text of *17HsG* is preserved on ff. 89r–96v (p. 175–190).[64] The saga is divided into eight chapters with the following titles (for convenience in English translation, the original titles can be found in the edition):

1. Descent, birth, growing up and swift victory of Hrómundur,
2. Hrómundur opens Þráin's mound,
3. Hrómundur wins the mound dweller and gets Mistilteinn,
4. Hrómundur gets into the king's disfavour due to defamation,
5. Hrómundur fights against Haddingjar with king Ólafur upon Svanhvít's request,
6. Hrómundur is in care of Hagall and his wife,
7. Blindur's dreams and king Hadding's interpretation,
8. Killing of king Hadding and Blindur and marriage of Hrómundur.

As evident from these descriptive chapter headings, the story remains consistent, but the headings summarise the main events of the saga, emphasising certain events while overlooking others. This approach serves as a significant example of the eighteenth-century reception of the saga and offers an insight into the contemporary interpretation of the story, which arguably appears to differ considerably from how many might read this saga today.

Although the text of the saga has been stylistically altered, the main storyline remains unchanged. However, thanks to the title headings, the story can be interpreted in a distinct manner. It is particularly interesting that none of the titles mention the deaths of Hröngviður and his brother Helgi, which some readers might consider central events of the story. Instead, the emphasis is on Hrómundur's accomplishments and the conflict between Ólafur and the Haddingjar. The narrative shifts away from a tale of personal vengeance, as implied by the various killings—Hröngviður's death as retribution for killing Kári and Örnúlfur, Helgi's death for killing Hrómundur's brothers, and Vóli's death for killing Hrómundur's dog—to one highlighting themes of achieving glory, supporting a king at a princess's behest, prophetic dreams that signal the downfall of adversaries, and ultimately marrying the princess. This perspective offered by the saga in J634 allows for a reading that fore-

64. Pagination is erroneous, therefore, it does not match the foliation.

grounds elements of heroism, loyalty, and fate over those of personal vendetta

Based on the quire structure and the dates given in the colophons following various texts, a division of the manuscript into two parts can be proposed. In the first part (quires I–XVII, ff. 1-137), quires of four conjoint leaves dominate, while in the second part (quires XVIII–XXXIX, ff. 138-231) quires of two conjoint leaves dominate. In the first part there is a colophon dated to 1767 (f. 95v) and in the second part there are two colophons dated to 1805 and 1806. Moreover, an overlap between quire boundary and text boundary also supports this division: *Mírmanns saga* ends quire XVII while *Jarlmanns saga og Hermanns* starts quire XVIII, in which the type and the quality of paper changes.

The first part of the manuscript was written by Markús Snæbjarnarson (1708–1787), a minister on Flatey.[65] The second part of the manuscript was probably written by Tómas Sigurðsson (1772-1849), also from Flatey.[66] Tómas was living there around the time the second part of J634 was copied and his name is attested on f. 89r of J634, by the beginning of *17HsG*.[67]

Geography and family relations seem to play an important role in the copying process of this manuscript.[68] As visualised in Figure 3.4, Markús Snæbjarnarson was the son of Kristín Magnúsdóttir (1672–1712), the daughter of Magnús Jónsson from Vigur (1637–1702). It was Magnús, for whom Jón Þórðarson worked as a scribe, and for whom he copied B4859 and possibly also Lbs 222 fol. There are some textual indications (discussed in greater detail in the following section) that allow us to assume that there was at least one more manuscript of *17HsG* which served as an exemplar for the common ancestor of L840 and J634. This manuscript might also been associated with Magnús Jónsson's family. As mentioned in Sec-

65. For Markús Snæbjarnarson's biography, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:474-475. Other manuscripts in Markús Snæbjarnarson's hand are Lbs 204 fol., Lbs 356 fol., and a part of ÍB 376 4to.

66. Páll Eggert Ólason, V:16.

67. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, xxx. Other manuscripts where Tómas' hand can be found include parts of Lbs 1540 8vo, ÍB 757 8vo, ÍB 764 8vo, but I did not have access to these manuscripts or their facsimiles to compare the hand, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:303, III:166–168.

68. A similar case is described in Section 3.2.

tion 1.2, we know that there was at least one more manuscript in Magnús Jónsson's possession which preserved a text of 'Hrómundar saga'. The 'second book of Magnús Jónsson in 4to' (*MJ 2 4to), as listed in AM 211 b 4to, might be one of the missing links between L840 and J634 and the remaining manuscripts in text-group B.

There are two flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript. On the recto side of the second flyleaf there is a title 'Sögu Safn', and on the verso side there is a table of contents listing ten items, both written by Páll Pálsson (1806–1877), a bookbinder at the National Library ca. 1850–1870.[69] The manuscript has been extensively repaired, and Páll Pálsson added the text that was missing due to damage by writing it on the added support.

The manuscript is the twelfth volume in a collection of nineteen manuscripts, catalogued under the shelfmarks from JS 623 4to to JS 641 4to. These manuscripts were previously owned by Jón Sigurðsson (1811–1879), a scholar, politician, and very active book collector.[70] This is only a small part of Jón Sigurðsson's manuscript library, which consisted of ca. 2000 volumes.[71] The collection of his manuscripts was bought by the Icelandic parliament in 1878 and, after his death, was given to the National Library.

Textual relationships in B_1

As previously indicated, L840 and J634 are most likely descendants of a common exemplar, since neither one can be a copy of the other. The text in L840 could not have been copied from J634 simply due to chronology; J634 was copied in 1767 and L840 around 1737. J634 could not be a copy of L840 based on textual criteria. There are examples where J634 preserves readings which are more closely related to the remaining manuscripts in group B than to L840, for example:

A345, B4859, L222, J634] L840.

líktist (+ hann J634) mjög Hróki móðurföður sínum] 'lijktest mióg mödur fodur sijnu*m* Hroke hinu*m* sv*ar*ta'.

liði sínu vestur til Suðureyja] 'lide sy*nu t*i*l* Sud*ur*eia vest*ur*'.

69. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:136; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, xxxi.
70. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:266.
71. Briem, 'Yfirlit yfir ævi Jóns Sigurðssonar', 34.

Hrómundur bað hann segja sér] ‘Hrom*undur* bad h*ann* vijsa Si*er*’.

The common ancestor of the text-group B_1 must be a descendant of a common ancestor of the oldest manuscripts in text-group B (A345, B4859 and L222), because B_1 is certainly not derived directly from L222 or B4859 since it does not reproduce their shared innovations, such as:

L222, B4859] A345, L840, J634.

konungur (+ varð mjög reiður og L222) mælti fyrir þessi þín orð] ÷.

skal Hrómundur ⌜gálgann gista (hengður verða B4859) þótt hann sé frækinn (+ kallaður L222)] ÷.

At the same time, B_1 is not derived from A345, because it does not reproduce its individual readings, such as:

A345] B4859, L222, J634, L840.

norður fyrir Noreg] austur fyrir Noreg.

rétt fyrir stafni fram] rétt fyrir framstafni.

brendi hann allan] brendi hann upp allan.

Text-group B_2

Text-group B_2 is has been distinguished to describe an interesting case study of two manuscripts, B4875 and L222, which are textually closely related to each other, and which also most likely share a part of their history of ownership. This pair has been selected for closer discussion not only because it is a good example of a branch of the stemma that has ‘died out’ due to the acquisition of the manuscript by a foreign collector, but also because it shows a hypothetical example of how manuscripts might have circulated in Icelandic families for several generations in the post-medieval period. As a result of this decision, B_2 is represented by only one younger manuscript of *17HsG*:

- BL Add. 4875 (B4875), *17HsG* written in 1763.

B4875 is textually closely related to L222. In fact, it appears to be its descendant, as it reproduces the innovations of L222 which are absent from all other texts of *17HsG*, such as:

Rafn] L222, B_2.

at landi sínu um kyrt] að landi sínu um hríð.

at Hrómundr muni hafa verit þat] að kelling muni hafa verið það.

Um vetrinn eptir] Um morguninn eftir.

The readings of B4875 diverge from L222 mainly in orthography but some minor variant readings, such as, word order, synonyms, obvious scribal errors and minor additions or omissions, as demonstrated below:

L222] B4859.

'hiellt olaf*r* k*ong*r austr fyr*ir* noreg'] 'hiellt Olafr K*ong*r austur M*ed* Lande aust*ur* f*y*r*ir* norueg'.

'kall sagþi at h*a*m mä sigla'] 'k*a*ll s*a*gde ad sigla maa'.

'oc at Liþnu*m* iiij Daughum'] 'og ad lidn*u*m iv døgu*m* lidnu*m*'.

'k*ong*r v*a*rd miøk reiþr oc mælltti f*y*r*ir* þ*ess*i þijn ord sk*al* Hrom*un*dr Gälgan*n* Gysta þott h*a*m sie frækin*n* kallaþr'] 'K*onu*ngr mællti fr*ir* þesse þijn ord skal Hromund*ur* galgan*n* gista þott h*a*m frækni sie kalladur'.

The most striking evidence for B4875 being derived from L222 is the presence of the addition 'skal Hrómundur gálgann gista þótt hann ⌜sé frækni (frækni sé B4875) kallaður'. This addition appears close to the end of chapter three of the saga as presented in the present edition (and chapter five of Rafn's edition). It appears in the conversation between Svanhvít and her brother, King Ólafur, during which Ólafur expresses his disapproval of the warm relationships between Svanhvít and Hrómundur. While in A601 and in the majority of other manuscripts, it is Svanhvít who states that the evil brothers Blindur and Vóli shall be hanged, in L222 and B4875 it is Ólafúr who'd rather see Hrómundur hanging and expresses it by using the phrase 'gálgann gista'.[72]

BL Add. 4875

BL Add. 4875 (B4875), held in the British Library in London, consists of ii+88+ii leaves in quarto. It is a composite manuscript in a modern library binding, preserving various handwritten texts, along with printed newspaper materials.

72. Note that in B4859 Ólafur also wishes for Hrómundur to be hanged, but a different phrase is used.

The manuscript can be divided into six parts. The first part includes *Valdimars saga*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, *17HsG* (ff. 16r–21v), *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Ævintýr af Valtara hertoga*, and *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*. The second part contains newspaper extracts from *Die Dänische Fama*. The third part contains one *ævintýri* beginning with the words 'Herraudur hefur kongur heited'. The fourth and fifth parts preserve two copies of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*. The final part consists of some newspaper extracts from *Post=Rytter*.

17HsG concludes with a colophon indicating that the copying of the text was completed on 23 August 1763. Following the text is a short poem on the subject matter of *17HsG*. The poem contains the poet's name, Eggert, and concludes with a formulaic phrase thanking readers and listeners for their attention, 'Saa haf þock s*em* | les | En*n* saa alls aungua | s*em* | skrifade | FINIS Est ' (Thanks to those who read, but none to those who wrote. The End.), followed by the initials 'E.H.S.'.

At least four different hands can be distinguished in the manuscript, and according to Jón Helgason's catalogue, Eggert Hákonarson (1746/8–1787), the son of Hákon Snæbjarnarson, wrote the portion of the manuscript containing *17HsG*.[73]

Shortly after the youngest part of the manuscript was copied, i.e.,the part containing *17HsG*,[74] the manuscript joined the collection of the British Museum. Today, B4875 is held in the British Library but it originally belonged to the collection of forty volumes acquired by the British Museum during 1773–1779 from Sir Joseph Banks (today BL Add. 4857–4896). As previously mentioned in

73. Jón Helgason, 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library'; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:319.

74. The latest date attested in the manuscript is 1768 on f. 54r, where a number of scribbles can be found, and among them the name of 'Nathanel Þorsteinsson[0] | [á] Sondum d. [10] Augustu (*sic*) 1768'. This is probably Nathanael Þorsteinsson (d. 1794) who married Svanborg Hákonardóttir, a sister of Margrét Hákonardóttir (see sections on Suðureyrarhreppur in the unpublished manuscript, Kjartan Ólafsson, 'Firðir og fólk 900-1900: Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla: Vinnuhandrit'. Note that no information about these people can be found in the published version of his work, Kjartan Ólafsson, *Firðir og fólk 900-1900: Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla. Gengið bæ frá bæ í Arnarfirði, Dýrafirði, Önundarfirði og Súgandafirði, litið á landslag og hugað að mannlífi og minjum eitt þúsund ára*). The relationship between Svanborg and Margrét Hákonardætur and Eggert Hákonarson is unknown and the patronymic name might be a coincidence.

Section 2.3, some manuscripts in Banks's collection were likely acquired during his visit to Iceland in 1772, while others were sent to him later by Ólafur Stephensen.[75] The exact arrival date of B4875 at the British Museum is unknown.[76]

B4875 and its exemplar in Jón Þórðarson's hand?

As previously mentioned, B4875 is a composite volume, consisting of six different parts. One of the parts includes printed material (ff. 44r–53v and 80r–88v), while the majority of the volume is handwritten. The majority of the texts in B4875, ff. 1r–43v and 54v–55v, were written in one hand, Hand 1, and are accompanied by dated colophons. The dates indicate that the manuscript was copied over the summer, which seems an unusual practice as many Icelandic manuscripts are often copied over the winter.[77] Hand 1 of B4875 gives the impression that the scribe was inexperienced and perhaps the copying of this manuscript was part of his training in writing. The lines of texts, as well as the letter forms, are irregular and clumsily constructed, and the script is not consistent throughout the texts. On f. 29r, we can observe that the scribe hurries to finish the saga as the script changes remarkably by the end of the text. This speaks in favour of the proposed identification of Eggert Hákonarson as the scribe of the main part of this manuscript because at the time some of the texts in B4875 were copied in 1763, he was only a teenager (fifteen or seventeen years old).

The last hand-copied text in this manuscript, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, is defective.[78] It is written in two different hands: ff. 56r–57v are written in Hand 3, and ff. 58r–79v are written in Hand 2.

75. Porter, 'Preserving the Past: England, Iceland and the Movement of Manuscripts', 175; Halldór Hermannsson, *Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland*, 15–17.

76. According to Anna Agnarsdóttir, there is a catalogue of the Icelandic books from Banks in BL Add. 45712, but I did not have a chance to consult it, so it remains unknown to me whether or not it contains some additional information about the manuscript's provenance, see Anna Agnarsdóttir, *Sir Joseph Banks, Iceland and the North Atlantic 1772-1820: Journals, Letters and Documents*.

77. Driscoll, 'The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland', 54.

78. The text on f. 57v ends with 'at þeira ættmenn yrði jafnan útlægir af sínum eignum.' (at the end of chapter 1), but the text on f. 58r starts with *Þangat skaltu fara ok koma þar annat kveld* (in the middle of chapter 2), so there is a lacuna of ca. 680 words.

According to Jón Helgason's catalogue, this saga establishes the oldest part of the manuscript, written ca. 1700.[79] Hand 2 has been identified as the hand of *sýslumaður* Erlendur Ólafsson (d. 1772). Hand 3, on the other hand, closely resembles the hand of Jón Þórðarson, the main scribe of L222. Perhaps this copy of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* was intended to serve as an exemplar for young Eggert Hákonarson, who presumably never managed to copy it, and the text ended up in the same volume as his copies. This would suggest that Eggert Hákonarson had access to Jón Þórðarson's manuscripts, which could have served as exemplars for other texts in his manuscripts. It cannot be excluded that Eggert might have had direct access to L222. It is noteworthy that *17HsG*, *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, and *Griseldis saga* appear in B4875 in the same order as in L222. While no study of the transmission history of these two sagas yet exists, we can only speculate whether the texts of *Bragða-Ölvis saga* and *Griseldis saga* in B4875 were also derived from L222. Until then, however, another explanation could be that ff. 56–79 of B4875 were simply supplied later and are not related to the original process of copying other texts. The following section, however, outlines the hypothetical ownership history of L222, which would make the scenario in which Eggert Hákonarson had access to Jón Þórðarson's manuscripts possible.

Family relationships and manuscript transmission

As mentioned in Section 2.3, L222 might have been one of the manuscripts commissioned by Magnús Jónsson (1637–1702) from Vigur. According to the colophons in L222, the manuscript was copied mainly in the years 1695–1698. It previously belonged to Brynjólfur Oddsson (1825–1887), a bookbinder, as his name appears on the title page. The whereabouts of L222 at the time when B4875 was copied are uncertain.

As Arthur observed, a number of names found in L222 can be associated with Eyri in Önundarfjörður in the early nineteenth century.[80] Among them is Kjartan Ólafsson (1792–1863) and his

79. Jón Helgason, 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library'.

80. Arthur, 'Writing, Reading, and Utilizing *Njáls Saga*: The Codicology of Iceland's Most Famous Saga', 72–73.

mother Þuríður Gísladóttir (1759–1834),[81] both residing at Eyri in Önundarfjörður.[82] The history of L222 before it came into the possession of Þuríður Gísladóttir is not well documented. Some clues might perhaps be deduced from the history of B4875.

As previously mentioned, Eggert Hákonarson, the son of Hákon Snæbjarnarson, was the main scribe of B4875. The names of Eggert and Páll Hákonarson are found in B4875 and they must refer to two sons of Hákon Snæbjarnarson (1711–1798), the minister of Álftamýri in the years 1746–1798.[83] Hákon Snæbjarnarson was the son of Kristín Magnúsdóttir, the daughter of Magnús Jónsson from Vigur, the commissioner of L222. If B4875 is indeed a direct copy of L222 then the genealogical relations between the people involved in the production of these two manuscripts allow us to assume that Hákon received L222 from his mother and gave it to his son Eggert, who copied *17HsG* from it in 1763.

Eggert Hákonarson was born in 1746 at Eyri in Skutulsfjörður where his father Hákon was a minister at the time. He studied at Skálholtsskóli, which he left in 1772.[84] He married his cousin, Kristín Markúsdóttir (1737–1816), in 1775 and settled on Flatey where his father-in-law (who was also his father's brother) Markús Snæbjarnarson (1708–1787), was a minister..[85] There is another copy of *17HsG* associated with this family, as Markús Snæbjarnarson is a scribe of the first part of J634, also belonging to textgroup B. The whereabouts of Eggert's brother, Páll, are unknown, but his name is found in various places in B4875, so he had to be at least temporarily an owner of the manuscript. It is not cer-

81. The dates of births and deaths of Kjartan and Þuríður were found in the online genealogical service www.geni.com and are therefore uncertain. According to the census of 1816, Kjartan was 23 and Þuríður was 55 (mannatal.is, last accessed 22/03/2024).

82. Þuríður, however, on f. 99v signs: 'Þurídur Gisladottir a Tród', which suggests that at some point she was living with her son Kjartan at Tröð; in the census of 1835, Kjartan is registered as *húsbóndi* and *hreppstjóri* at Tröð, where Þuríður's sister, Guðrún Gísladóttir (aged 73), still lived at that time. If the dates given at www.geni.com can be trusted, then the absence of Þuríður Gísladóttir in the census of 1835 can be easily explained by her death in 1834.

83. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:234.

84. This suggests that B4857 was written in Eyri, assuming that Eggert was still living with his parents and had not yet gone to Skálholt in 1763.

85. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:474–475; Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II:231.

tain whether Eggert or Páll is responsible for the sale of B4875 to Banks, but as Eggert was attending Skálholtsskóli in the same year when Banks visited Skálholt, it is probable that it was through his network that the manuscript made its way into the hands of the British collector.[86]

If we assume that B4875 was sold to Joseph Banks around the time of Banks's visit to Skálholt in 1772, then it can be argued that L222 had to be already somewhere else, meaning not in Eggert's or Páll's possession, otherwise it would most likely also have been sold to Banks.[87] Therefore L222 had to leave the family of Magnús Jónsson's descendants shortly after B4875 was copied in 1763, but before it was sold to Banks in 1772.

If this entire hypothetical history of ownership of L222 is correct, it still remains difficult to explain how L222 got into the hands of Kjartan Ólafsson. Kjartan's family is, however, associated with Ísafjarðarsýsla, and he himself was a *hreppstjóri* residing at Tröð in Önundarfjörður, while descendants of Magnús Jónsson's also resided in that area. For example Magnús's great-granddaughter Gunnhildur was married to the minister of Holt in 1761–1783, Jón Eggertsson (1731–1783), and his other great-granddaughter Þórkatla Magnúsdóttir was married to Jón Ásgeirsson, the minister of Holt in 1796–1810.[88] Therefore there is a high possibility that these two families were in contact and exchanged manuscripts.

This section discussed a pair of manuscripts that illustrate how books might have circulated in Icelandic families for several generations. Furthermore, this pair is a good example of the branch of the stemma that has 'died out' due to the acquisition by a foreign collector, as no known text of *17HsG* is derived from B4875.

86. Another attractive possibility is that it was not Eggert himself who was responsible for the sale of B4875 to Banks, but his son-in-law Teitur Jónsson (1742–1815), who was in contact with Banks after Banks's visit to Skálholt, as the extant correspondence proves. Teitur, however, married Sesselja Eggertsdóttir in 1811, so after the last manuscript from Banks's collection was donated to the British Museum. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:7; Anna Agnarsdóttir, *Sir Joseph Banks, Iceland and the North Atlantic 1772-1820: Journals, Letters and Documents*, 166–167, 632.

87. There is a number of manuscripts in Banks's collection which previously belonged to Magnús Jónsson í Vigur, among them B4859.

88. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:88.

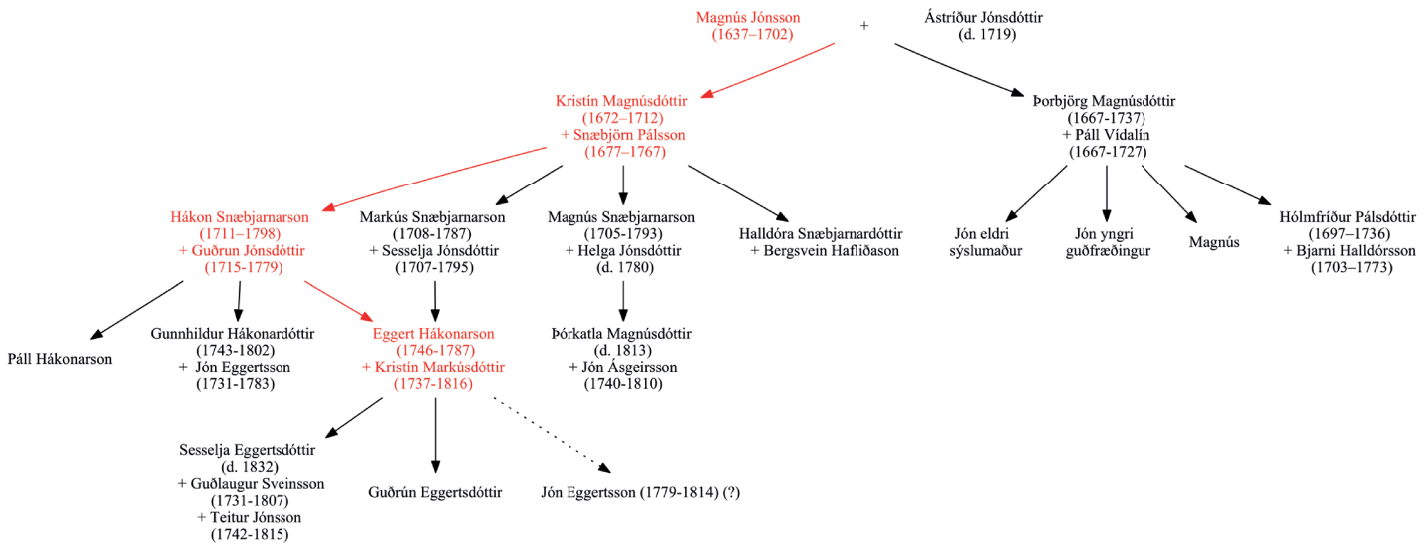

Figure 3.4: Magnús Jónsson's descendants and the hypothetical history of ownership of Lbs 222 fol. (represented by the red lines)

Text-group B_3

Text-group B_3 has been distinguished to focus on two manuscripts, L633 and A395, which are very closely related to each other and both appear to be descendants of B4859. In fact, they demonstrate the transmission of *17HsG* from one manuscript to another, starting from B4859 to L633 and then to A395. In practice, text-group B_3 includes two younger manuscripts:

- Lbs 633 fol. (L633), dated to 1695–1721,[89]
- AM 395 fol. (A395), dated to 1760–1766.[90]

The textual dependence of L633 and A395 on B4859 is clear from their shared readings that reproduce the innovations of B4859, which are absent from the rest of the tradition, such as:[91]

Rafn] B4859, B_3.

sem vo Hraungvið] sem drap Hraungvið.

ok rendi sverðit ofan í (völlinn) upp at hjöltum] en sverðið sökk í völlinn að hjöltum.

konúngi lið] lið konungi.

Similarly to the case of B_2, to find clear evidence for the relationship between B4859 and B_3 we can turn to the episode describing the conversation between Svanhvít and Ólafur. As outlined above, L222 introduced a reading indicating that Hrómundur will 'gälgann gysta þott hann sie frækni kallaþr'. Meanwhile, B4859 shares the sentiment but modifies it ever so slightly, stating in a straightforward manner that 'Hromundr heingdr verþa, þott hann

89. L633 was previously broadly dated to the eighteenth century, but since the manuscript was commissioned by Lauritz Gottrup (1648–1721), his death must be the *terminus ante quem*, see L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 18 and the online catalogue entry archived on 20/03/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240320190431/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs02-0633.

90. A395 was previously broadly dated to the eighteenth century, but recently the dating has been narrowed down to 1760–1766, see Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:305 and the online catalogue entry archived on 20/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240220121044/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0395.

91. Where relevant, the variants are given in full diplomatic transcription to show that even the orthography of these two manuscripts is similar.

se frækinn'. Both, L633 on p. 637 and A395 on p. 360, reproduce this reading.

The close relationship between A395 and L633 is also confirmed by the following shared innovations which are absent from B4859:

B4859] B_3.

'Sa kongur rieþi fyrir Gaurþom er Olafr het'] 'Olafur het kongur er riedi firir Gaurþom' (L633), 'Olafur hét kongur er rede fyrir Gaurdom' (A395).

'h*a*m var frętgr *madr*'] 'frętijr *madr*' (L633), 'frętijr *madr*' (A395).

'uar i fylgd m*ed* konungi'] var í liði með konungi (L633, A395).

'*ok* Rętna Drauga fee'] 'oc rænda drauga fie' (L633), 'og rænda drauga fie' (A395).

'vizt ertu Rauztr' (B4859)] víst ertu róskur (L633, A395).

There are no readings that would suggest that A395 could be the exemplar of L633, and no readings which suggest that they are siblings. L633 does not introduce any significant readings not reproduced in A395, but A395 contains some independent innovations, such as:

B4859, L633] A395.

og jafnan sigur] 'og Jafnan(n) sigur hafft'.

fyrir sverðsins oddi] 'fijrer sverd sitt'.

tekur upp merki Konungs og lemur med kylfunni Blámenn til dauða] ÷.

The most convincing piece of evidence that A395 is a descendant of L633 is the omission of the entire sentence 'tekur upp merki Konungs og lemur med kylfunni Blámenn til dauða'. This omission is a homeoteleuton: the word 'dauða' appears twice in close proximity, at the end of lines 15 and 16 on page 634 of L633, and the scribe of A395 simply skipped one sentence and resumed writing from the second occurrence of the word.

It is worth noting here that Slay arrived at the same conclusion regarding the relationship between the texts of *Mírmanns saga* in A395 and L633.[92] He supported his hypothesis by observing that when A395 was written at Akrar in Mýrasýsla, L633 belonged to

92. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxix.

Kár Ólafsson from Munaðarnes, also in Mýrasýsla, so it is likely L633 served as a direct exemplar for A395. Elsewhere, I suggested, furthermore, that L633 could have served as a direct exemplar for more texts preserved in the second part of A395, not only *17HsG*, but this requires further stemmatic examination of other sagas.[93]

Lbs 633 fol.

Lbs 633 fol. (L633), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is an impressive paper manuscript in folio, which consists of iv+576+i leaves.[94] L633, and the texts preserved in it, have received a substantial amount of scholarly attention, compared to other post-medieval manuscripts.[95] The manuscript has been broadly dated to the eighteenth century, but according to the title page (first front flyleaf recto), it was re-bound in 1760:

> Samann Safn | Af | Jslendskum*m* Nolrdskum*m*. | .Sem og Ødrum*m*. | .utandlands. | Historium*m*. | Sem brükast meíga Til frodlleíks Og skémtunar | Øllum*m* þeím sem Lesa edur | heíra vilia. | Nú ad nýu Jnnbundinn An*n*ó. | .MDCCLX.
>
> (Collection of Icelandic, Norwegian, and other foreign stories that may be used for enlightenment and amusement of all those who wish to read or hear. Now newly bound in the year of 1760.)

On the following leaf (second front flyleaf recto), there is a table of contents which lists the 34 items of this manuscript. These are: *Víga-Glúms saga*, *Reykdæla saga*, *Finnboga saga ramma*, *Kormáks saga*, *Grettis saga*, *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*, *Odds þáttur Ófeigssonar*, *Búa saga Andríðssonar*, *Jökuls þáttur Búasonar*, *Ármanns saga og Þorsteins gála*, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 319r–322v), *Áns saga bogsveigis*, *Bragða-Ölvis saga*,

93. Kapitan, 'Between Truth and Fiction'; Kapitan, 'A Digital Perspective on the Role of a Stemma in Material-Philological Transmission Studies'.

94. L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 18.

95. Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*'; Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga'; Slay, 'Hitherto Unused Manuscripts of *Hrólfs saga kraka*'; Slay, 'The Make-up of Lbs 633 fol.'; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*.

Mírmanns saga, *Kirjalax saga*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Elís saga og Rósamundu*, *Fertrams saga og Platós*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs*, *Sörla saga sterka*, *Nikulás saga leikara*, *Adónías saga*, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*, *Böðvars þáttur bjarka*, *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, and *Bærings saga*. Additionally, there is a loose leaf kept at the rear of the manuscript, which contains a previously unidentified fragment of *Grettis saga*.[96]

17HsG is written on a single quire of two conjoint leaves (320+323, 321+322) which is quire LXIV of the manuscript with a signature 'Lll'. Slay divided the book-block of L633 into fifteen units of writing based on the changes in writing.[97] *17HsG* belongs to Unit A, together with *Gríms saga loðinkinna* and *Örvar-Odds saga*, occupying ten gatherings (pp. 535–640). To the same unit of writing also belongs *Bragða-Ölvis saga* (one gathering) and *Mírmanns saga* (four gatherings) (pp. 665–712). The scribe has not yet been identified.

There are two slips that have been included in the book block after the conservation, which provide useful information about the manuscript's history of ownership. The first one is badly damaged but, according to Slay, the note contains information that the manuscript was commissioned by Lauritz Gottrup.[98] Lauritz Gottrup (1648–1721) lived at Þingeyrar in northern Iceland between 1684 and 1721, suggesting that the manuscript was probably written at Þingeyrar.[99] All that can be read today of the signature is 'L Goot'.[100] It is important to emphasise here that B4859, as discussed

96. See the entry on *Handrit*, archived on 20/03/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240320190431/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs02-0633/. The text corresponds to chapter 30 in Gísli Magnússon and Gunnlaugur Þórðarson's edition, Gísli Magnússon and Gunnlaugur Þórðarson, *Grettis saga*, 69. The text of *Grettis saga* in L633 does not follow the same chapter division as the edition and the fragment belongs to chapter 26 according to the text division in L633. The loose leaf should be inserted between ff. 117v and 118r. It seems, however, that the leaf was never a part of this gathering; perhaps the scribe supplied it when he realised he had skipped a few sentences of the text.

97. The description of the manuscript's quires can be found in Slay, 'The Make-up of Lbs 633 fol.', 737.

98. Slay, 'Hitherto Unused Manuscripts of *Hrólfs saga kraka*', 261; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxii.

99. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:393.

100. Hufnagel reads the signature as 'J Gott[rup]', so it could as well be Jóhann Gottrup (1691–1755), a *sýslumaður*, the son of Lárus (Lauritz) *lögmaður* Gottrup

in Section 2.3, which contains the text of *17HsG* that is the textual ancestor of *17HsG* in L633, was around that time in Páll Vídalín's possession in Víðidalstunga in Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla, so in close proximity to Lauritz Gottrup's residence.

The second note is more legible and it provides information about the previous owner of the manuscript, and from whom and when he received the book:

> Þessa sógu Bok hefur mier giefed min*n* Elskulegur | modur frænde og Broder Þorbiørn salugie Biarn*n*a son A*nno* 1740 [corrected to 1750] | en*n* nú af mier Jn*n* bunden*n* A*nno* 1781 dag 21 Marsij Kar Olaf | ad munadarnese.
>
> (This saga book has been given to me by my dear maternal uncle and brother, late Þorbjörn Bjarnason, in the year 1740 [corrected to 1750], and now it has been bound by me, Kár Ólafsson from Munaðarnes, on 21 March 1781.)

Some of the names appearing in the manuscript can be easily identified. Kár Ólafsson (1740–1804) from Munaðarnes was a brother of Þorbjörn 'ríki' Ólafsson (1750–1827), a goldsmith from Lundar. Their parents were Ólafur Jónsson (1713–1789) and Guðríður Káradóttir (1710–1753). Kár was married to Jórunn Bjarnadóttir (1738–1800).[101]

The note indicates that Kár received this manuscript from a certain Þorbjörn Bjarnason, to whom he refers as a *móðurfrændi og bróðir*. This must be Þorbjörn Bjarnason from Síðumúla (ca. 1671–1763 or 1767).[102] According to *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, Ólafur Jónsson, Kár's father, when he was a young man in his twenties, used to live with a certain Þorbjörn Bjarnason, whose foster daughter and a relative he eventually married. Þorbjörn Bjarnason died childless, and some of his goods ended up in the possession of Ólafur's heirs.[103]

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and Katrín Pétursdóttir, see Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga', II:33; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:23–24.

101. Dates and family relations compiled from Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, VIII:217, Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir*, II:700, and the webpages www.genealogy14.tripod.com, https://www.myheritage.com, and www.gardur.is, last accessed on 19/02/2024.

102. Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, XII:163.

103. Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, VII:217; Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, XII:163.

It is not surprising then that Ólafur's son, Kár, at the age of ten, received this magnificent volume as a gift from his 'almost' grandfather, Þorbjörn.[104]

Finally, there is a signature on the title page of L633, which reads 'BBenedicti possesor', attributed to Bogi Benediktsson (1771–1849), a manuscript collector and an expert in Icelandic genealogy and history.[105]

The catalogue of manuscripts in the National and University Library of Iceland traces the history of ownership of L633 from 1956 when the library bought this manuscript from Jón 'skáld úr Vör' (1917–2000), to Sigríður Brynjólfsdóttir Benedictsen (1834–1912), a daughter of Brynjólfur Benedictsen (1807–1870), who was the son of Bogi Benediktsson.[106] It is unknown how the manuscript ended up among Bogi's possessions. The link between Kár Ólafsson and Bogi Benediktsson remains to be revealed by further archival work to gain an overview of the complete history of ownership of this manuscript.

AM 395 fol.

AM 395 fol. (A395), held in the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in Reykjavík, is an eighteenth-century manuscript which consists of 468 leaves.[107] A395 contains the following texts: *Ljósvetninga saga*, *Þórarins þáttur ofsa*,[108] *Valla-Ljóts saga*, *Svarfdæla saga*, *Flóamanna saga*, *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls*, *Finnboga saga ramma*, *Brandkrossa þáttur*, *Vopnfirðinga saga*, *17HsG* (ff.

104. The relationship between Kár and Þorbjörn has been overlooked in previous scholarship, cf. Slay, 'Hitherto Unused Manuscripts of *Hrólfs saga kraka*', 261.

105. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxii; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:262.

106. L. Blöndal, *Skrá Auk II*, 18; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:272.

107. According to Kålund, A395 counts 468 leaves, Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, I:304. According to *Handrit.org*, the manuscript counts 469 leaves, see the description, archived on 09/07/2022 at https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061534/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0395 (last accessed on 20/02/2024). This discrepancy is due to the foliation in the manuscript being incorrect, as number 455 was skipped. Elsewhere, only the page count of 974 is provided, cf. Seidel, *Textvarianz und Textstabilität: Studien zur Transmission der Ívens saga, Erex saga und Parcevals saga*, 83–84; Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxvi–lxvii.

108. This text is not complete and not mentioned in the table of contents; there is no rubric, and the þáttur appears as a continuation of the preceding saga.

175r–182r), *Áns saga bogsveigis*, *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Mírmanns saga*, *Kirjalax saga*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, *Elís saga og Rósamundu*, *Fertrams saga og Platós*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*, *Hervarar saga og Heiðreks*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Clarus saga*, *Parcevals saga*, and *Ívens saga*. The sagas are followed by two tables of contents, one of which classifies sagas according to their historical value. It groups the contents of the volume into three groups: 'true stories, or those very close to truth', 'intermediate stories, or hybrids of truth and falsehood' (where *17HsG* appears), and 'entirely fictional stories or lying sagas'.[109]

Slay has suggested that A395 was written by four different scribes: Scribe A wrote *Ljósvetninga saga* on pp. 5–76 (pp. 77–81 blank), Scribe B wrote *Valla-Ljóts saga* on pp. 82–107 (pp 108–111 blank), Scribe C wrote sagas on pp. 112–350 (pp 351–352 blank), and Scribe D wrote the rest of the manuscript (pp. 353–972), including *17HsG*.[110]

While Scribe C can be identified as a certain Þorkell Sigurðsson, thanks to two signed colophons, the other hands in the manuscript have remained unidentified.[111] Slay's description of the writing is very accurate. There are indeed clear shifts of script in the manuscript, which follow his division into four scribes. The question remains, however, whether these four different script types could not have been used by the same person.[112] After all, Slay himself success-

109. This has been the subject of a separate study, see: Kapitan, 'Between Truth and Fiction'. There, I argued that the table of contents with the saga classification was added by Skúli Thorlacius.

110. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxvii.

111. Blaisdell suggested that 'AM 395 fol. [...] shows various hands' without specifying how many hands he distinguishes in the manuscript, Blaisdell, *Ívens saga*, cxxxviii. Blaisdell refers to Jónas Kristjánsson's edition of *Valla-Ljóts saga* and the *Antiquarisk Tidskrift 1846–1848* (published in 1847) as his sources, but neither of them provides a detailed description of scribal hands. Jónas Kristjánsson suggested that 'Valla-Ljóts saga skriver synes kun at have skrevet denne saga', but he did not comment on the rest of the manuscript, Jónas Kristjánsson, *Valla-Ljóts saga*, xviii–xix. The most recent description on *Handrit.org* is also ambiguous, identifying two scribes, a certain Þorkell Sigurðsson (ff. 1r–173v), and an unknown scribe (from f. 175r), see the online catalogue entry archived on 9/07/2022 at https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061534/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/AM02-0395. Note that the *Handrit* record points to a generic authority file entry for Þorkell Sigurðsson, without any biographical information.

112. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxvii.

fully demonstrated in the case of L633 that fifteen different units of writing could have actually been written by only six scribes.[113]

Elsewhere, I argued that Þorkell, the scribe of A395, id Þorkell Sigurðsson, known as Laga-Móri.[114] In this section I present some evidence suggesting that Scribes C and D of A395 are actually a single scribe, Þorkell Sigurðsson, Laga-Móri.

Þorkell Sigurðsson, the son of Sigurður Högnason, a *sýslumaður* from Akrar, was born around 1724. He earned his nickname, Laga-Móri, due to his extensive knowledge of law.[115] He was considered a skilled and prolific scribe, as evidenced by the number of manuscripts written in his hand, including Rask 8a,[116] Lbs 839 4to, dated to 1770–1771,[117] JS 42 4to, dated to 1780,[118] parts of ÍBR 28 8vo, written around 1760,[119] and Lbs 3623 4to from around 1756.[120]

Already the note describing the manuscript in *Antiquarisk Tidskrift 1846–1848* (p. 154) implied that A395 was written by one person, stating that the manuscript was 'rituð með skýrri snarhönd að framan en fljótaskript aptantil, herumbil 1764, af Þ. Sigurðssyni á Ökrum' (written with a clear humanistic script at the beginning and cursive at the end, around 1764, by Þ. Sigurðsson from Akrar). This conclusion is clearly based on the internal evidence of the manuscript. From a colophon on f. 173v, we learn that Þorkell was based at Akrar in Mýrasýsla in western Iceland, 'endud á Økrum d. 21ta Martii 1764'.[121] A very similar signature can be found in Lbs 1061 4to on f. 11v, where the colophon following *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* reads that the saga was completed at Hamrar, 'endud þan*n* 16da Maii 1778 ad Haumrum*m* i hraunhrepp af Thorkele Sigurdar-

113. Slay, 'The Make-up of Lbs 633 fol.'
114. Kapitan, 'Between Truth and Fiction'.
115. Aðalsteinn Halldórsson et al., *Borgfirzkar æviskrár*, XII:247–248.
116. Jónas Kristjánsson, *Valla-Ljóts saga*, xix.
117. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:368.
118. Páll Eggert Ólason, II:498.
119. Páll Eggert Ólason, III:233.
120. Grímur Helgason and Blöndal, *Skrá Auk III*, 33. Additionally, ÍBR 105 8vo is written around 1760 in a hand similar to Þorkell's, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:245.
121. Images of the manuscript are available on *Sprogsamlinger.ku.dk*, archived on 20/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240220113614/https://sprogsamlinger.ku.dk/q.php?p=ds/hjem/mapper/29315.

syne'. Similarly, the signature on f. 14r closely resembles the handwriting found in the second part of A395.[122]

The comparison of the script in the second part of A395 with the colophons signed by Þorkell in the first part of A395, Lbs 1061 4to, and Rask 8a allows us to assume that the entire manuscript is in Þorkell's hand. In Lbs 1061 4to, we can clearly see that Þorkell was using cursive script and book hand in the same manuscript.[123] Even though the script is not identical, there are some common features in all three manuscripts which point towards the same scribe, for instance, the shape of the word-initial 'h' and the word-initial 'k', the slope of the connection between 's' and 'k'. The presence of two types of 'g': the 'g' with an open lower part and with a closed lower part also does not seem accidental. The scribe uses, similarly, two types of 'd': the 'd' with a lobe and the 'd' with a shaft, and both types appear in the examined samples of Þorkell's script. Additionally, the scribe of *17HsG* uses the book-hand script to write the personal names and the place names in an otherwise cursive-written text, and his book hand seems to be very similar to Þorkell's writing in the first part of A395.[124]

There are two notes on the first leaf of A395 providing some clues regarding the history of ownership of this manuscript. The first note is written in ink at the bottom of the page and reads 'kiöbt paa sysselmand Jon Arnesens | auction [d.] 4 Janu. 1779. | cst 3 Rd:'

122. This implies that Þorkell was living in Akrar around 1764 and around 1778 in Hamrar. Both places are in Mýrasýsla.

123. It appears that in his later years, Þorkell started to use cursive more frequently than earlier, as the texts in Þorkell's hand in Lbs 1061 4to were copied in 1778 and we see a mixture of cursive and book hand, while in JS 42 4to, dated to ca. 1780, cursive dominates. Still, the cursive of JS 42 4to is much different from the cursive of the second part of A395.

124. For a further description of the hand, see: Kapitan, 'Studies in the Transmission History of Hrómundar saga Greipssonar', 95–102. The use of different script types for personal names, or different types of texts is a fairly common practice in early modern Iceland; for more on the different functions of various script types, see F. Richter, 'Neuschreiben und Rezeption der Prosa-Edda in illuminierten Handschriften der Frühen Neuzeit', 209–214, Springborg, 'Antiqvæ historiæ lepores - on renæssancen i den islandske håndskriftproduktion i 1600-tallet', 68. Recently, I have focused on some of the extant handwritten copies of *Series dynastarum et regum Daniæ*, where a consistent interplay between fraktura, antiqua, and runic script can be observed, Kapitan, 'Work in Progress: Torfæus's Series Dynastarum et Regum Daniæ between Manuscript and Print'.

(bought at the auction of the district administrator Jón Árnason on 4 January 1779 for 3 rigsdallers). Jón Árnason was a *sýslumaður* from Ingjaldshóll on Snæfellsnes. He is known to have owned a large collection of books and manuscripts,[125] which, as the note indicates, was sold in 1779.[126]

Another note is written in pencil in the top margin and reads 'e libris Birgeri Thorlacii'. Birgir (or Børge) Thorlacius (1775–1829) was a professor of classics at the University of Copenhagen, as well as an editor and translator of Icelandic sagas. He was the son of Skúli Thorlacius (1741–1815), a philologist and a member of the Arnamagnæan Commission, as well as rector of the Latin school in Kolding..[127] As discussed in greater detail elsewhere, it was most likely Skúli Thorlacius who bought A395 at the auction and then passed it on to his son.

After Birgir Thorlacius's death, the manuscript was auctioned in Copenhagen on 6 September 1830, listed in the auction catalogue as number 8, but it is unknown who acquired it afterwards. It seems likely that someone purchased the manuscript at this auction and later donated it to Det kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab around 1847, when we can read about this manuscript in *Antiquarisk Tidskrift 1846-1848*. A395 became part of the Arnamagnæan collection in 1883, when it was donated by Det kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab. Finally, in 1994, it was transferred to Iceland, where it has been held since.

Text-group B_4: Kall 614 4to

Kall 614 4to (K614), held in Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, is an eighteenth-century paper manuscript in quarto.[128] The manuscript consists of i+199+i leaves. It opens with a table of contents (on first flyleaf) and contains an eclectic collection of texts

125. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:46–47.

126. The manuscript is included in the auction catalogue from 1778 under number 32 'Den Islandske historie...', see *Fortegnelse over endeel gode og velconditionerede Bøger, samt nogle Manuscripter, tilhørende afg. Sysselmand i Snæfieldsness-Syssel paa Island Herr John Arnesens Stervboe*, 2, see also JS 107 fol.

127. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, lxviii; Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, IV:294; Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XVII:268–270.

128. Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, 384.

in the following order: *Sigurðar saga þögla*, *Gibbons saga*, *Drauma-Jóns saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 60r–64v), *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, *Úlfars saga sterka*, *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns*, *Haralds saga Hringsbana*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Egils þáttur Síðu-Hallssonar*, *Þorsteins þáttur forvitna*, *Þjalar-Jóns saga*, *Virgilíus saga*, *Eiríks saga víðförla*, *Ævintýr af Assvero gyðingi*, two short stories about Adam and Mahometh, translation of *Det gamle Grønlands nye Perlustration*, followed by a list of sagas, a genealogy from biblical Adam to bishop Jón Arason, and closes with another table of contents.

It is uncertain when exactly K614 was copied and by whom, but the manuscript is certainly a product of the eighteenth century. It must post-date 1729, as it contains a text that was translated in 1729, namely *Ny umferð til Skodunar hinnar fornu Grænlands bigdar*.

The ownership and provenance of this manuscript remain unknown. According to the *Stories for all time* catalogue, Johan Christian Kall (1714–1775), a Danish philologist and professor at the University of Copenhagen, purportedly owned this manuscript.[129] However, this claim has not been verified or refuted. What is certain is that K614 was in the possession of J. C. Kall's son, Abraham Kall (1743–1821), who was also a professor at the University of Copenhagen. Following Abraham Kall's death, his book collection was purchased by the Royal Library in Copenhagen and this is where the manuscript is today.[130]

The text of *17HsG* preserved in K614 is more closely related to A345 than to L222 or B4859, as illustrated by the following examples:

A345, K614] L222, B4859.

er Greipur hét] Sá hét Greipur.

Eitt sinn hélt Ólafur norður] Eitt sinn hélt Ólafur konungur austur.

hvorn dag fyrir sverðsins oddi] hvern dag mann fyrir sverðsins oddi.

The last reading is especially useful in establishing the relationship between K614 and A345, as it seems to correct an omission introduced in A345. The two manuscripts read as follows:

129. The *Stories for all time* catalogue, archived on 5/12/2023 at https://web.archive.org/web/20231205114453/https://fasnl.net/manuscripts/129.

130. Werlauff, *Bibliotheca Kalliana*, xli; Kålund, *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske håndskrifter i Det store kongelige bibliotek og i Universitetsbiblioteket*, xlix.

- A345: 'hv*or*n dag f*irir* Sv*er*dsins Odde'.
- K614: 'hv*or*n dag f*yrir* su*er*dsens odde ein*n* m[a]n*n*'.

All other manuscripts in text-group B read *Hraungviður mátti kjósa hvern dag mann fyrir sverðsins oddi*, but A345 omitted 'mann'. The scribe of K614 reproduced the omission, but then added 'einn man*n*' at the end of the sentence to counterbalance the somewhat odd grammatical construction caused by the omission. This minor variation, in the absence of contrary evidence, can be considered sufficient to conclude that K614 is a descendant of A345.

Finally, for consistency's sake, some examples of independent innovations in K614, which are absent from other manuscripts, must be provided. They illustrate that none of the examined texts can descend from K614, as no manuscript reproduces them. These readings include, for example:

A345] K614.

'h*ann* v*ar* fræg*ur madur*'] ÷.

'scal e*k* hau*gg*ua þic j Smä stycke'] 'skal eg hoggva þig i smä mola *og* stike'.

Text-group B_5: Lbs 4825 4to

Lbs 4825 4to (L4825), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto which consists of 278+i leaves. The manuscript can be divided into two main parts, ff. 1–145 and ff. 146–271, written in three hands at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.[131]

The volume starts with a table of contents, followed by *Ambáles saga* written in two different hands,[132] *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls*, *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *Króka-Refs saga*, and then in another hand: *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, *17HsG* (ff. 165r–173r), *Sigurðar saga turnara*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, *Haralds saga Hringsbana*, *Sigurgarðs saga frækna*, *Flóres saga og Blankiflúr*, *Auðunar þáttur vestfirska*, and *Ævintýr af Valltara hertoga*.

131. Grímur Helgason and Ögmundur Helgason, *Skrá Auk IV*, 138.

132. The table of contents and the beginning of the saga have been supplied later, probably due to some damage of the first leaves of the original manuscript.

The ownership history of this manuscript remains largely unknown, aside from its purchase in 1977 by the National Library of Iceland from Indriði Indriðason (1908–2008).[133]

The text of *17HsG* clearly belongs to text-group B, as it reproduces, for example, our favourite reading of 'kú' for 'ský'. Its textual relationship with the remaining manuscripts in text-group B appears to be somewhat more complex. L4825 cannot be a descendant of L222, as it does not reproduce the individual readings of L222, such as:

A345, B4859, L4825] L222.

og háð LX orrustur] og hefi háð LX orrustur.

Um veturinn] Um morguninn.

Similarly, L4825 cannot be a descendant of B4859, due to readings such as:

A345, L222, L4825] B4859.

gaf honum fé] og gaf honum mikið fé.

sem vó Hraungvið] sem drap Hraugvið.

Nor can it be a descendant of the common ancestor of L222 and B4859, which I refer to as B_0, due to readings such as:

L222, B4859] A345, L4825.

er þér er vopnbært] er þú getur valldið.

járnhringur sleginn] járnhringur settur.

Furthermore, L4825 cannot be a descendant of A345, due to readings such as:

L222, B4859, L4825] A345.

Sá hét Greipur] er Greipur hét.

hélt Ólafur konungur austur] hélt Ólafur norður.

Taking all these readings into account, we must assume that L4825 is a descendant of B, the common ancestor of all manuscripts in text-group B.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning a number of omissions in L4825, which are not found in any other manuscript within text-group B.

133. *Handrit.org*, archived on 9/07/2022 at https://web.archive.org/web/20220709061448/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-4825/.

Consequently, L4825 cannot be considered an ancestor of any other known manuscript of *17HsG*. Some of these omissions include:

B4859, L222, A345] L4825.

er hann kom heim og krufði gedduna] ÷.

líktist mjög Hróki möður föður sínum] ÷.

enn eigi var Kári mér skyldur samt skal ég drepa þig] ÷.

Manuscript context of *17HsG*: Text-group B

Texts of eighty-seven works appear together with *17HsG* in the manuscripts classified as members of text-group B. Twenty-three of them co-occur with *17HsG* more than once, and only six of them appear three or more times: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*, *Ála flekks saga*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Mírmanns saga*, *Sigurðar saga fóts*, and *Úlfs saga Uggasonar*. These texts are mainly sagas classified as *riddarasögur* and late *fornaldarsögur*.[134]

It should be emphasised that most of these sagas listed above did not co-occur frequently with *17HsG* in the oldest manuscripts, except for one: *Bragða-Ölvis saga*. *Bragða-Ölvis saga* appears together with *17HsG* in four out of seven of the younger manuscripts in this group and it was also the most frequently co-occurring saga in the oldest manuscripts (see Section 2.5). These two texts, which most likely share their origins, also circulated together in some of the younger manuscripts: L840, B4875, L633, A395. It is possible that they were copied one after another from the exemplars. Considering text-group B as a whole, we can assume that in B4875 these sagas were probably copied directly from L222, or its reliable descendant, and they appear one after another in both manuscripts. We have to wait for the analysis of textual relationships between *Bragða-Ölvis saga* in these manuscripts to confirm this hypothesis, but it seems promising. Similarly, in A395 and L633, these two sagas are separated by *Áns saga bogsveigis* but they appear in the same order in both manuscripts. My preliminary examination of select other texts in A395 makes me assume that some of them were copied one after another, but further research on this is needed.

134. The generic classification of *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar* is problematic, see the discussion of its sources by Overgaard and Lanjala, *Hákonar Saga Hárekssonar*.

3.3 Manuscripts derived from printed editions

All manuscripts of *17HsG* discussed so far are derived from other manuscripts that served as their exemplars. In this section, we turn towards manuscripts that preserve the texts of *17HsG* derived from printed editions. All of these manuscripts share a common feature: they reproduce the errors originating from the editions, and most of them, with J102 being an exception, explicitly divide the texts of the saga into ten chapters. Although none of the scribes explicitly stated anywhere in the manuscript that the texts are copied from a printed edition, based on textual criteria, it is certain that five of these manuscripts are based on Rafn's *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, text-group A_3 (Section 3.3), and two are based on Björner's *Nordiska kämpa dater*, text-group C (Section 3.3).[135]

Text-group A_3

In addition to chapter divisions (see the overview in Figure 3.1), errors introduced in Rafn's edition are the best indicators of whether a particular manuscript is a copy of the edition, or of A587, the base text of the edition. There are five manuscripts that can be classified as descendants of Rafn's edition, and they all post-date the publication of *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum* in 1829–30. In chronological order, these are:

- Lbs 3795 8vo (L3795), dated to 1831,
- JS 102 8vo (J102), dated to 1832,
- Lbs 2316 4to (L2316), dated to 1850,
- Lbs 2943 4to (L2943), dated to 1885,
- Lbs 4460 8vo (L4460), dated to 1892.

All these manuscripts preserve texts of *17HsG* that are independent of each other. There is no example of major variants introduced in one manuscript being reproduced in another (see the stemma in Figure 3.2 on page 99). What connects them is the fact

135. The material presented in this section served as the basis for a separate study on the differences in treatment of printed text by different scribes, see Kapitan, 'Manuscripts Derived from Printed Editions in the Transmission History of *Hrómundar Saga Greipssonar*'.

that they all reproduce the error introduced in Rafn's edition where the name of Helgi's mistress has been misread as 'Lara' or 'Lára' instead of 'Kara' or 'Kára':

A587] Rafn, A_3.

hún hét Cara] hún hét ⌜Lara (lara *eða* Cara L3795).

datt Cara dauð niður] datt (+ þá J102) Lara (+ þá L2943) dauð niður.

No known manuscript of *17HsG* misreads 'Kara' as 'Lara' independently from the edition. It is worth to remind ourselves that this misreading is Rafn's editorial error. It can be traced back to A587, where the shape of the letter 'C' resembles the letter 'L'.

The textual independence of these manuscripts is well manifested, for example, in the final part of the saga, as illustrated in Figure 3.5. The texts differ greatly in describing that after all the great achievements of Hrómundur, he eventually settled with Svanhvít and they lived happily ever after.

Even these few examples show how differently scribes treated the text of the edition. In two manuscripts, L2943 and L3795, the text is remarkably changed. The scribe of L3795 supplied additional information about the descendants of Hrómundur. Meanwhile, the scribe of L2943 expressed his knowledge of other stories dealing with the same characters. The remaining manuscripts, J102, L2316, and L4460, contain no additions in this part of the saga, but the text is not unchanged. In L4460, the text is noticeably abridged, while the closing sentence of L2316 is reformulated. J102, on the other hand, attempts to be a reliable copy but introduces an error by referring to Svanhvít as Ólafur's daughter, rather than his sister.

Lbs 3795 8vo

Lbs 3795 8vo (L3795), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo consisting of iii+244+ii leaves.[136] The first three leaves are made of bluish paper and are a later addition. The third flyleaf contains a title page: 'Sögubók | af | Forn konungum | Nordurlanda | og köppum | ásamt | nokkrum Íslendinga | sögum' (A saga-book about ancient kings and champions of the Nordic countries, together with some Icelandic sagas).

136. Grímur Helgason and Ögmundur Helgason, *Skrá Auk IV*, 92.

Rafn:
Ólafr konúngr gipti Hrómundi Svanhvít; þau untust vel, áttu sonu ok dætr til samans, ok voru afbragð annarra; eru af þeim komnar konúnga ættir ok kappar miklir, ok lýkur hèr sögu Hrómundar Greipssonar.

L3795:
olaf*ur* k*ongur* gipti h*rómundi* [or *honum*] svanhvit þau untust vel og attu til saman*n*s sini *og* dæt*ur og* voru afbragd an*n*a eru af þeim komn*ar* konunga ættir og kappar miklir þeirra sinir voru þe*ir* Biørnolf*ur og* hroald*ur* son biørnolfs hiet ørn fadir ijngolfs landnamaman*n*s e*nn* hroaldur atti þan*n* son er hrodmarr hiet hans son var leifur fostbrodir yngolfs og endar so søguna af hromundi Greipssine

J102:
olafur konungur gipti hrómunde dottur sina suanhuit þaug untust uel og leingi og attu sonu og dætur till samans og uoru afbragd an*n*ara eru af þeim kom'n'ir konunga ættir og kappar mikllir og likur hier søgu hrómundar Greifsonar

L2316:
Olafr k*on*gr gipti Hróm*undi* Svanhvjt þau untust vel áttu sonu og dætur voru þau afbragð an*n*ara m*an*na, eru af þe*i*m komnnar k*on*ga ætt*ir og* kappar mikl*ir*. ljkur so þessari san*n*ferdugu og fródlegu Historiju.

L2943:
Olafr k*on*gr gipti Hrómundi Svanhvít, þau unntust vel, áttu sonu ok dætr til samans er urðu síðar afbragð annara manna, eigi eru þau nefnd hér en segir frá þeim annarstaðar, eru af þeim komnar konúnga ættir ok kappar miklir, þó þeirra sé eigi getið í þessari sögu. Ok lýkr hér sögu Hrómundar Greipssonar.

L4460:
Ólafr konúngur gifti Hrómundi Svanhvít, þau untust vel, og áttu sini og dætur; eru af þeim komnar konúnga ættir og kappar miklir, og lýkur hjer sögu Hrómundar Greipssonar.

Figure 3.5: Comparison of the ending of *17HsG* in A_3

On the verso side of the same leaf, there is a table of contents listing fourteen texts preserved in this manuscript, mainly *fornaldarsögur* and *þættir*: *Sögubrot af nokkrum fornkonungum*, *Ragnarssona þáttur*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Af Upplendinga konungum*, *Sneglu-Halla þáttur*, *Böðvars þáttur bjarka*, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *17HsG* (ff. 165r–171r), *Ásmundar saga kappabana*, *Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa*, *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, and *Hjálmþérs saga*, which is defective and not listed in the table of contents.

17HsG, according to the colophon on f. 171r, was copied on 29 March 1831. The manuscript is written mainly in one hand, with the exception of ff. 54–7, which are a later addition. On f. 220v, there are the initials 'J:e:s:', suggesting that the manuscript was written by Jón Eiríksson from Þrándarstaðir (or Þrándarholt). [137] It is the same scribe who wrote the first part of ÍB 76 4to[138] and ÍBR 38 8vo.[139] While there was some confusion in scholarship regarding whether Jón should be associated with Þrándarstaðir or Þrándarholt, Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir associated ÍB 76 4to with Þrándarstaðir in Kjósarsýsla, and this seems to be a correct identification.[140]

As indicated by a note on flyleaf 2v, which reads 'Helgi Jónsson Þröm No. 96', L3795 was part of the book collection of Helgi Jónsson (1877–1954) from Þröm, who is known to have owned a large library of diverse works.[141] The National Library of Iceland acquired the manuscript on 6 September 1969 from Sigurður Bene-

137. The *Handrit.org* description of L3795, archived on 21/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240221131709/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs08-3795.

138. The *Handrit.org* description of ÍB 76 4to, archived on 21/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240221142001/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/IB04-0076.

139. The *Handrit.org* description of ÍBR 38 8vo, archived on 21/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240221131908/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/IBR08-0038.

140. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, 'Vestlenskar uppskriftir á 17. öld - um uppskriftir Eyrbyggju', a blog post based on a lecture delivered at the Eyrbygguþing in 2023, published on the webpage of Árnastofnun, last accessed online on 13/07/2018 at http://www.arnastofnun.is/page/greinar_og_erindi&detail=1004471, currently unavailable (20/03/2024).

141. Guðmundur Sigurður Jóhannsson, *Skagfirzkar æviskrár, tímabilið 1850-1890*; Ágúst Sigurðsson, 'Stórgjöf til Reykjakirkju'.

diktsson (1911–1970). It is unknown how Sigurður obtained this manuscript and whether he had access to other manuscripts from Helgi's collection, but the online catalogue *Handrit.org* currently associates only two more manuscripts with Sigurður, and no additional manuscripts with Helgi.[142] However, Páll Eggert Ólason associated two more manuscripts with Helgi, Lbs 2657 8vo and Lbs 2846 8vo.[143] None of them has an online record yet, but Lbs 2657 8vo is written by Helgi, as multiple notes throughout the manuscript suggest, for example, the colophon on p. 377, 'Helgi Jónsson Þröm 1905'. Lbs 2846 8vo, on the other hand, was definitely a part of Helgi's collection, as it has a note on the verso side of the first flyleaf, similar to that in L3795, 'Helgi Jónsson Þröm No. 15'.

The relationship between the edition and L3795 can be easily established based on an obvious error present in L3795, which originates from Rafn's edition: '*og* saung hatt hun hiet lara *eða* Cara' (f. 168v:11). Rafn in his edition included the reading 'hún hèt Lara', for which he provided a variant 'eða Lára; Cara, *allstaðar B, C.*'. The scribe of L3795 included both the reading of the main text as well as the one provided by the variant apparatus, creating a strange hybrid 'lara *eða* Cara' with a t-like character between these two words, which functions as the Latin abbreviation 'ł' for 'vel' (or). Elsewhere in the text, the name Lára ('lara' f. 169r:10) appears. Finally, we can mention that the orthography of the manuscript diverges greatly from the edition, but the scribe only rarely introduces minor textual variants, such as:

Rafn] L3795.

er aldrí hefir sljófgast] '*ok* h*efur* e*n* alldrei sliofgast'.

er þá illr kurr í liði konúngs] 'e*r* þa ill*ur* knur (sic!) i lidi k*onúng*s'.

gaf hann Hraungviði kylfuhögg svâ mikit] 'gaf h*ann* Hraungv*iði* so m*icit* høgg m*ed* kilfun*n*i'.

142. *Handrit.org*, archived on 21/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240221141903/https://handrit.is/manuscript/list/people/SigBen002 and https://web.archive.org/web/20240221141322/https://handrit.is/manuscript/list/people/HelJon005.

143. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá Auk I*, 106, 132.

JS 102 8vo

JS 102 8vo (J102), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo consisting of 54 leaves. The manuscript is in rather poor condition and is kept in an unbound form with loose leaves stored between cardboard boards tied with a cloth strap. There is some loss of text on the edges of the leaves as a result of earlier damage and repairs. JS 102 8vo preserves five texts: 'Eýn výsa med Jón', *Jóhönnuraunir*, *17HsG* (ff. 21v–31v), *Eitt kvæði er nefnist hugar fundar*, and 'Ríma af Jóni upplanda kongi'. *17HsG* is followed by the colophon dated to 1832.

On the first leaf, there is a note identifying the main text of the manuscript and associating it with a certain Filippus Jónsson: 'Philippus | Jonsson | A Blodin*n* | med [Já]ttu [or réttu?] | Johon*n*u Raunir' (Filippus Jónsson rightfully owns these leaves, *Jóhönnuraunir*). According to Páll Eggert Ólason, J102 was not only owned but also written by Filippus Jónsson from Ísabakki and at least two more manuscripts can be associated with him: JS 23 8vo (dated to 1833–1835 and 1817) and JS 43 8vo (dated to ca. 1835).[144]

Considering the lack of biographic information in the catalogue, we must assume that this is Filippus Jónsson listed in the 1816 census as a seven-year-old boy at Ísabakki, son of Jón Magnússon and Ásta Erlendsdóttir. In the 1845 census, he is listed as married to Sigríður Jónsdóttir with four children, Guðmundur, Filippus, Augusta, and Johannes, who was seven at the time. In 1850, we find them with three children, Filippus, Ágústa, and Jóhanna, who was eleven at that time.[145]

This discrepancy concerning their children, Jóhannes born around 1838 and/or Jóhanna born around 1839, raises questions about the manuscript's ownership and provenance. According to the note on the front flyleaf, Jón Sigurðsson acquired J102 in 1865 from a certain Jóhann Filippusson from Arnarnes, 'Jóhann Filippusson í Arnarnesi 18/9 65'. Meanwhile, only a certain

144. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, II:622, 626, 640, *Handrit.org*, archived on 21/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240221155731/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/JS08-0102 and https://web.archive.org/web/20240221163526/https://handrit.is/manuscript/list/people/FilJon002.

145. Björn Magnússon, *Nafnalykill að Manntali á Íslandi 1845*; Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, *Manntal á Íslandi 1845*, and www.manntal.is, last accessed on 22/02/2024.

Jóhannes Filippusson, not Jóhann, was registered in the 1860 census as a twenty-two-year-old fisherman living at Oddakot in Gullbringusýsla. Considering mix-ups between Jóhann and Jóhannes are not unheard of, and unless we assume gender fluidity among Filippus' children, it is likely that there is an error in the online edition of the 1850 census and that Jóhannes was Filippus' son born around 1838/9, and then Jón Sigurðsson obtained J102 directly from him.

J102 has been classified as a descendant of Rafn's edition mainly because of its textual similarity to the edition. It reproduces the error Lára for Kára, and even though it does not contain clearly numbered chapters, there are some indications of a chapter division which overlaps with Rafn's chapters. For example, on f. 29v, there is a number sign where the chapter division in the edition occurs. A similar symbol appears on f. 28v, where it also denotes the chapter division. In some places, such as ff. 26v and 27r, the space between the last word of one chapter and the first word of the following chapter seems to be slightly larger than usual.

As previously mentioned, J102 is in poor condition. The ink has faded, and there is a loss of text on almost every line of the manuscript, which makes the collation of variants difficult. There are frequent grammatical and orthographic errors in the manuscript, which, along with the irregular script, suggest that it was not a 'professional' scribe who copied the text of *17HsG*. Among the minor readings of J102 where the text diverges from the edition, we can list:

Rafn] J102.

faðir hans, illa Kára] 'fadir hans uonda kara'.

svâ hausinn brotnaði] 'suo hausin klofnade'.

Hrómundr drap þann] 'hromundur drap hann strax'.

Lbs 2316 4to

Lbs 2316 4to (L2316), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of i+137 leaves.[146]

146. According to Páll Eggert Ólason, L2316 counts i+272 pages, see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:301.

The volume opens with a title page, followed by a table of contents, two short poems, decrees by Pope Gregory the 7th, an essay on printing, and the following sagas: *Tristrams saga og Ísoddar*, *Sigurgarðs saga frækna*, *Bertrams saga greifa*, *Flóres saga og Blankiflúr*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *17HsG* (ff. 87r–95v), and *Starkaðar saga gamla*, which is defective (the end of the saga is missing).

According to the table of contents on f. 1v, there must have been at least one more leaf, as some stanzas, 'Fiorar výsur', were supposed to be written on page 274. The manuscript is kept in an unbound form, with loose quires stored between two boards made of cardboard which are tied together with a cloth strap.

The title page on f. 1r indicates that L2316 was written in 1850 by Elías Sigurðsson from Straumfjarðartunga, as it reads:

> Þessi Søgu Bök. | Jnniheldur | Siø Flocka. | Uppskrifud arid. | 1850. | A Straumfiardar, | Tungu, af. | Elias Sigurds Syni. | Þeim til gamans er | leingi | vaka ä kvøldinn.
>
> This saga book contains seven groups [of sagas] copied in the year 1850 in Straumfjarðartunga by Elías Sigurðsson, for the pleasure of those who stay awake long into the evening.

Elías was a *bóndi* in Miklaholtssel and Straumfjarðartunga on the Snæfellsnes peninsula. He was married to Halldóra Björnsdóttir, with whom he had a son Kristján (1850–1929), a poet and *bóndi* in Ytra-Lágafell.[147] Not much is known about Elías's life or his scribal activity, and L2316 is the only known manuscript in his hand.

The orthography of L2316 diverges from that of the edition and is often modernised. Elías regularly implements minor alterations to the saga's text, including:

Rafn] L2316.

Þeir gengu uppá landit] 'Þ*ei*r gerdu so'.

ok fengit jafnan sigr] '*ok* feingid ætjð Sigur'.

Þegar Kári hafði fengit sárit] 'en*n sem* Kári fieck sárið'.

147. Gyðmundur Magnússon, 'Vigdís Elíasdóttir (Minning)', 8; Þorsteinn Jónsson, *Eyja- og Miklaholtshreppur: ábúendur og saga Eyja- og Miklaholtshrepps frá 1900*, II:475.

In some cases, furthermore, he reformulates whole sentences, amplifying some and abridging others:

Rafn] L2316.

'hann var í stakki gullfáguðum, báðar hendr hans voru breinglaðar'] 'v*ar* h*an*n i stakki gullsaumud*umm*, all*ur* h*an*ns nára bjálki var blár s*em* hel og hafdi ena feiknarlegustu leingð s*em* digurð, þrjr stórir hnúðar voru á fram*ann* verdri midiu h*an*s og v*ar* s*em* sidi gráblá froda ur min*n*i (sic!) h*an*ns, bádar voru hend*ur* h*an*ns breingladar'.

'hann skyldi fátt tala um fall bræðra sinna; skaltu nú þess gjalda, ok hèr lífit missa'] 'þess gjalda skaltu lifið láta'.

Lbs 2943 4to

Lbs 2943 4to (L2943), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of 400 leaves gathered in fifty regular quires of four conjoint leaves each.[148] The manuscript starts with a title page on f. 1r, which reads: 'Fornmannasögr | Norðurlanda | Tólfta bindi. | Skrifaðar eptir gömlum bókum | M.D.C.C.C.L.X.X.X.V.' (Sagas of the ancient men of the north. Twelfth volume. Copied from old books. 1885). On the following page, there is a table of contents, listing eight sagas, mainly *riddarasögur*, but also one *Íslendingasaga* and one *fornaldarsaga*. These are: *17HsG* (ff. 3r–11v), *Karlamagnús saga*, *Grænlendinga saga*, *Valdimars saga*, *Sarpidons saga sterka*, *Falentíns og Ursins saga*, *Sálus saga og Nikanórs*, *Herlaugs saga jarls gauska*.

The manuscript was written in 1885 in the hand of the prolific scribe Magnús Jónsson from Tjaldanes in Dalasýsla.[149] Unlike many of Magnús', manuscripts there is no preface to the texts copied in L2943. The texts were written continuously one after another, as there is no overlap between the quire and text boundaries.

The text *17HsG* in L2943 follows the edition relatively closely. The scribe, however, seems to use both the main text of the edition and the readings from the variant apparatus. In three instances, Magnús chooses the readings from the variant apparatus over the main text:

148. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá Auk I*, 66–67.

149. On Magnús's collection of sagas, see Driscoll, '*Um gildi gamalla bóka*: Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi und das Ende der isländischen Handschriftenkultur'; Driscoll, 'Writing in the Twilight: The Manuscripts of Magnús í Tjaldanesi'.

Rafn] L2943.

gerðist] ‘gerðist þar’.

Halding] ‘Hadding’.

flugu] ‘fljúga’.

Furthermore, the name of the king of Swedes, Hadding, which consistently appears as ‘Halding’ in the main text of the edition, in L2943 follows the form from the variant apparatus, ‘Hadding’. The choice of ‘Hadding’ over ‘Halding’ might, however, simply be a result of Magnús’ extensive knowledge of old sagas, in which the name Haddingjar appears in various sagas he copied.

The level of scribal intervention into the text of the saga is not consistent throughout the text. In the early chapters, changes are very minor, but as the saga progresses, the variation becomes more significant, particularly in chapter ten, where numerous innovations are introduced to ‘stretch’ the saga, likely to fill the remaining space in the manuscript. This practice has been observed in other manuscripts by Magnús, such as *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in Lbs 1498 4to and *Sörla saga sterka* in Lbs 1508 4to.[150]

In chapter one, the only textual variants are:

Rafn] L2943.

mikill ok sterkr] ÷.

fyrir sverðsins oddi] ‘fyrir oddi sverðs síns’.

Meanwhile, the variation in chapter ten is much more significant:

Rafn] L2943.

ok lamdi Haldíng konúng í hel] ‘ok lamdi Haldíng k*on*g í hel, ok marga hans menn’.

Karllinn Blindr, er hèt Bavís, var bundinn ok heingðr] ‘Karllinn Blindr, er kallaðr var Bavís, var höndum tekin*n* bundinn *ok* heingðr’.

Tóku þeir þar mikit gull ok annat fè] ‘Þeir tóku þar mikit herfáng gull ok dýrmæta gripi er Haddíng k*on*gr átti’.

The case of *17HsG* being copied from a printed edition is not unique in Magnús’ career. There are multiple instances demonstrating that Magnús often based his copies on printed texts, among

150. Lavender, ‘Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*’, 111–112; Hufnagel, ‘*Sörla saga sterka* in Its Final Phase of Manuscript Transmission’, 440.

them: *Hrólfs saga kraka* in Lbs 1508 4to;[151] *Sturlaugs saga starfsama* in Lbs 1504 4to;[152] *Eiríks saga víðförla* in Lbs 1505 4to;[153] *Mírmanns saga* in Lbs 1494 4to and Lbs 1506 4to;[154]) *Sörla saga sterka* in Lbs 4940 4to and Lbs 1508 4to;[155] and *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* in Lbs 1494 4to.[156] Moreover, as Driscoll has observed, Magnús frequently compared the readings from various 'versions' of the story available to him, explicitly noting in his commentaries that sometimes he copied the printed text, which in some cases he considered more reliable than the handwritten copies available to him.[157]

The orthography of Magnús' text closely mirrors that of the edition, but it is difficult to say whether he consciously copied the spelling of the edition or simply used his own highly archaised orthography. Finally, it can be noted that numbers are always written in full in L2943, for example, 'nýu' (9), 'þrjátýgi ok þrjú' (33), and 'sextýgi' (60), while the edition always gives the Arabic numerals.

Lbs 4460 8vo

Lbs 4460 8vo (L4460), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo consisting of i+280+i leaves.[158] L4460 contains five *fornaldarsögur*. These are: *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *Örvar-Odds saga*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, and *17HsG* (ff. 260v–280r), which is followed by a colophon dated to 6 March 1892.

L4460 was written by Þorsteinn Jóhannsson (1875–1958) in the years 1891–1892, as the dated colophons suggest. It is the youngest known manuscript of *17HsG*. It is uncertain where exactly the manuscript was copied, but Þorsteinn was associ-

151. Slay, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, 94–97.
152. Zitzelsberger, *The Two Versions of* Sturlaugs saga Starfsama*: A Decipherment, Edition, and Translation of a Fourteenth Century Icelandic Mythical-Heroic Saga*, 334.
153. Jensen, *Eiríks saga viðfǫrla*, clxxx–clxxxi.
154. Slay, *Mírmanns saga*, cxv–cxxii.
155. Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka* in Its Final Phase of Manuscript Transmission'; Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga', 114–125.
156. Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 110–112.
157. Driscoll, '*Um gildi gamalla bóka*: Magnús Jónsson í Tjaldanesi und das Ende der isländischen Handschriftenkultur'.
158. Sigríður Hjördís Jörundsdóttir, *Skrá 1964-2013*, 53.

ated with a farm called Ólafsey in Snæfellsnessýsla. Þorsteinn's daughter Helga was born in 1913 in Narfeyri in Snæfellsnessýsla, and according to Helga's biography, she lived from 1916 in Reykjavík, where Þorsteinn's youngest child, Ingimundur, was born. Þorsteinn's family probably left Snæfellsnes in 1916, and therefore L4460 had to be written there.[159] The manuscript was donated to the National Library on 14 February 1985 by Helga Þorsteinsdóttir, the aforementioned daughter of the scribe. Not much is known about Þorsteinn's scribal activity, but he was only 17 years old when he copied *17HsG* in L4460.

Þorsteinn's text is a fairly close copy of the printed edition, but he does sometimes make stylistic changes and occasionally abridges the text. As with most of the other scribes mentioned here, Þorsteinn consistently updates the orthography of the text but does not introduce any abbreviations. In general, it seems that he sticks fairly closely to the text of the edition, possibly owing to his youth and relative inexperience. Among the minor changes he introduced are, for example:

Rafn] L4460.

bindr sèr grátt ok sítt geitarskegg ok setr síðan hatt á höfuð sèr] 'bindur sjer grátt ok sítt geitarskegg'.

'svá hausinn brotnaði'] 'svo hausinn fór í mola'.

Þá ljóp upp einn kappi Haldíngs konúngs svâ stórr sem risi. Hrómundr drap þann] ÷.

Text-group C

There are only two known manuscripts preserving the texts of *17HsG* that are based on Björner's edition:

- AM Acc 61 (Acc61), dated to ca. 1816.
- Ms Germ qu. 936 (M936), dated to ca. 1800–1863.

These two manuscripts are independent copies of the edition (Figure 3.6). The most straightforward method to identify manuscripts

159. Dóra Steinunn Ástvaldsdóttir and Árni Jón Eggertsson, 'Helga Þorsteinsdóttir – Minningargrein'; Ómar Ingimundarson, Unnur Ingimundardóttir and Agnes Ingimundardóttir, 'Ingimundur Þorsteinsson – Minningargrein'.

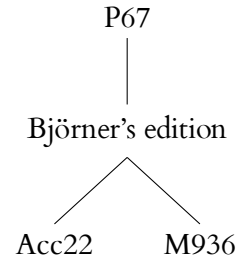

Figure 3.6: Stemma of text-group C

based on Björner's edition is through the comparison of variation sites where the readings of the edition disagree with P67, the manuscript on which the edition is based. This enables us to exclude the possibility that these manuscripts are copies of P67, or its descendants, rather than of the edition. As previously mentioned, there are at least two places where Björner misread or misinterpreted P67:

P67] Rafn, Björner.

'af beijnum ä lendar ofann'] 'af beinum á lendar ofan', 'af beynum a herdar ofann'.

'Olafur kongur ┤Austur├ `Vestur´'] 'Ólafr konúngr austr', 'Olafur Kongur vester'.

Especially useful in this context is the reading 'Olafur Kongur vester' in Björner's edition, which in P67 reads 'Olafur kongur ┤Austur├ `Vestur´', with 'Austur' being crossed over and 'Vestur' written above the line in a different hand. The manuscripts preserving the reading 'vestur' are most likely based on Björner's edition.

To further separate these manuscripts from group A and B, we can use the individual readings of P67 which were also reproduced in Björner's edition, such as:

P67] Rafn, Björner.

'of mieg'] 'þó góðir þikki of mjök', 'ofmiog'.

'CXXXIV'] 'hundrað 24', 'CXXXIV'.

'og rende sverdiþ nidur i `jordina´ upp ad hiölltom'] 'ok rendi sverðit ofan í (völlin) upp at hjöltum', 'og rendi sverdiþ nidur i jordina upp ad hiolltum'.

'og stiack ä qvidin æsar'] 'ok stakk á kviðinn á sér', 'og stack a kvidinn æsar'.

The only manuscripts that reproduce these readings in an unchanged form are Acc61 and M936. These are both very reliable copies of the edition, as to some extent, their orthography and punctuation also follow the edition:

Björner] Acc61, M936.

'af beynum a herdar ofann'] 'af beynum a herdar ofan*n*'], 'af beynum a herdar ofann'.

'Olafur Kongur vester'] 'Olafur kongur vester', 'Olafur kongur vestur'.

'CXXXIV'] '134', CXXXIV.

'og rendi sverdiþ nidur i jordina upp ad hiolltum'] 'og rende sverdiþ nidur i jordina upp ad hiolltum', 'og rende sverdiþ nidur j jordina upp ad hiolltum'.

'og stack a kvidinn æsar'] 'og stack a kvidin æsar', 'og stack a kvidin äser'.

AM Acc 61

AM Acc 61 (Acc61), held in Den Arnamagnæanske Samling in Copenhagen, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of 134 leaves. Acc61 contains four *fornaldarsögur*: *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *17HsG* (ff. 18r–29r), *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*, and *Hrólfs saga kraka*, all most likely derived from Björner's edition.[160]

The manuscript was copied before 1816, as it belongs to the collection of manuscripts which Frederik Julius Schaldemose (1783–1853) gave to the Cathedral school in Nykøbing that year, most of which are in his own hand. The Arnamagnæan received it from the school in April 2007 as a gift.

Schaldemose was a lecturer at the Cathedral School in Nykøbing between 1816 and 1825. He was an active poet, author, and translator, translating various works from Latin, Russian, Spanish, French, German, English, Italian, Swedish, and Dutch

160. Kapitan, 'A Danish Collection of Old Norse Sagas: Material-Philological and Textual Studies of Acc. 61'.

into Danish.[161] In 1847, he published a translation of *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, with an introduction and commentary. His apparent interest in old stories and legends resulted in the publication of *Krønnike-Lises Æventyr, eller Fyenske Sagn* in 1844 and *Danske Kæmpeviser, ældre og nyere* in 1846. Little is known, however, about his scribal activities, or his interest in Old Norse-Icelandic literature. Notably, Icelandic is not even listed among the languages he worked with.[162] Despite this, there are at least nine manuscripts in his hand in the Arnamagnæan. Additionally, I have identified one manuscript in his hand in the National Library of Iceland and one in the Bodleian Library.

Acc61 is an almost unique manuscript in the transmission of *17HsG* (alongside M939) due to its conservative treatment of the copied text. The scribe closely follows the text of the edition, even reproducing words spelled in an 'unusual way' in the edition, for example, 'sliofast', 'munda', 'skule', 'veþor', 'sampt', 'vyþa', 'broþnade', 'Baviz'. He does not introduce any textual variants, and orthographic variants are very limited. He reproduces the punctuation and capitalization of the edition to some extent but is not very consistent. The only consistent change he makes is replacing Roman numerals with Arabic numerals, for example. '33 aar'. He does not use abbreviation marks, except for the nasal stroke in 'han*n*'.

Ms Germ qu. 936

Ms Germ qu. 936 (M936), held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, is a paper manuscript in quarto consisting of i+152+i leaves. The volume begins with a table of contents, followed by *Gríms rímur og Hjálmars*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *17HsG* (ff. 34r–42v), *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*, *Sörla saga sterka*, *Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar*, and *Samsons saga fagra*.

The manuscript is written in one hand throughout. The same hand can be found in Ms Germ qu. 935 on pp. 1–129 and 201–313, and in Ms Germ qu. 884 on ff. 10r:1–22v:77. According to Degering, all three manuscripts can be associated with the broth-

161. Erslew, *Almindeligt Forfatter-Lexicon*, III:23-24; Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XV:48-50; Storm, 'Frederik Julius Schaldemose: en stor og glemt forfatter'.

162. Storm, 'Frederik Julius Schaldemose: en stor og glemt forfatter', 61, 69.

ers Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859).[163] Furthermore, Hufnagel suggested that the copying of M936 may have been commissioned by them.[164] Indeed, similar physical features observed across these three manuscripts, such as the type of paper and quire structures, in addition to the scribal hands, suggest shared origins and a close association with Jacob Grimm.

On f. 34r, there is a marginal note in Jacob Grimm's hand, which reads: 'Merkwürdiges Zeugniß | in der Sturlungasaga, | daß die Hromundssaga | schon 1119 bei einem | Gastmal er|zählt worden. | vid. Müller | isl. Gesch. schr. | p. 42.' (A peculiar testimony in *Sturlunga saga* that *Hrómunds saga* was already told at a feast in 1119, see Müler, Icelandic Historiography, p. 42). This refers to Müller's *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhange über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*, in which he mentioned that *HsG* was recited at the wedding feast at Reykhólar.[165] Consequently, the marginal note must post-date 1813, but more importantly, it exemplifies Jacob Grimm's interest, shared by many of his early nineteenth century contemporaries, in the inter-textual relationships among the sagas and their medieval origins.

As such, there is no doubt that the text of *17HsG* in M936 derives from Björner's edition. It reproduces the errors 'herdar' and 'vestur', but also the peculiar orthography of Björner's edition, for example: 'sliofast', 'veþor', 'sampt', 'vyþa', 'broþnade', 'Baviz'. The text is very conservative and the only changes that the scribe introduces are purely graphemic, such as the use of 'ä' for 'æ' and 'ß' for 'ss'. The same feature has been observed by Hufnagel in her study of *Sörla saga sterka* manuscripts.[166] Unlike the case of *Sörla saga sterka*, however, the scribe copies the numerals as they are presented in the edition, in their Roman representation, e.g. 'VIII edur XII'.

163. Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, 152, 159; Westrin et al., *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, X:311–314.

164. Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga', I:111–112, II:188.

165. Müller, *Über den Ursprung und Verfall der isländischen Historiographie, nebst einem Anhange über die Nationalität der altnordischen Gedichte*, 42–43.

166. Hufnagel, '*Sörla saga sterka*: Studies in the Transmission of a Fornaldarsaga', 111–112.

It is worth noting that these three manuscripts together (M936, Ms Germ qu. 935, and Ms Germ qu. 884) contain an almost complete collection of the sagas included in Björner's *Nordiska Kämpa Datter*. The organization of texts in the manuscripts follows the order in which they appear in Björner's edition. The only two texts, however, that are missing are *Friðþjófs saga* and *Frá Fornjóti og hans ættmönnum*. A random sample check of various texts preserved in these manuscripts has led me to believe that all these texts reproduce the edition very reliably; even the chapter headings preserve the orthography and punctuation of the edition.

Manuscript context in A_3 and C

The manuscripts in text-group A_3 and text-group C provide informative insights into different approaches not only to copying but also to organising manuscript volumes. Texts of seven different works appear alongside *17HsG* in text-group C. All these texts, six sagas and one set of *rímur*, had been published in Björner's edition. Only two sagas appear in both Acc61 and M967: *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra* and *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*. In both manuscripts, the sagas appear in the same order in which they were printed in the edition: first *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, then *17HsG*, followed by *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*. Until textual evidence proves otherwise, it is safe to assume that these two sagas were also copied from the edition, just like *17HsG*.

The situation is quite different within text-group A_3, where texts of thirty-one different works appear alongside *17HsG*. Only one of them, however, appears twice: *Friðþjófs saga*. Other texts include various *riddarasögur*, such as *Flóres saga og Blankiflúr* and *Karlamagnús saga*; *Íslendingasögur*, such as *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* and *Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa*; and *rímur*, such as *Jóhönnuraunir*. Thus, not only do the sagas published in Rafn's edition co-occur with *17HsG* in this text-group. The literary contents of these manuscripts are very broad and difficult to classify in any consistent way. It seems that each single manuscript had its own individual rationale that requires further and more detailed analysis.

Chapter 4

The nineteenth-century saga

Previous chapters illustrated the transmission history of the seventeenth-century saga of Hrómundur, placing its origins in the antiquarian networks of early modern Denmark and Sweden. Subsequently, the prose saga travelled back to Iceland, where it circulated in diverse literary circles including wealthy landowners, lay scholars, farmers, and fishermen. At the same time, the manuscripts of the saga spread beyond Scandinavia, reaching the United Kingdom and Germany, where interest in medieval Old Norse-Icelandic stories was growing. Some decades after the 1737 publication of *Nordiska kämpa dater*, in which an edition and Swedish and Latin translations of *17HsG* appeared, a summary of the story in Danish was published by Peter Erasmus Müller, followed by a full translation and edition by Carl Christian Rafn.[1] While scholars in Europe were interested in the medieval origins of the saga, in Iceland the story entered the usual cycle of literary adaptation, moving freely between prose and verse.[2] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the story of Hrómundur obtained a new narrative form. The existence of this younger *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar* (*19HsG*) has escaped the attention of scholars until quite recently, when introductory studies on the matter have been published.[3]

1. Müller, *Sagabibliothek*; Rafn, *Nordiske Kæmpe-Historier eller mythiske og romantiske Sagaer efter islandske haandskrifter*; Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*.

2. Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.

3. The present chapter presents some material that has previously been published in Kapitan, 'Afterlife of a Lost Saga: A Hitherto Unknown Adaptation of the Lost Saga of Hrómundur Gripsson'.

The new saga of Hrómundur appears to be a product of the literary activity of Icelandic lay scholars of the early nineteenth century, henceforth *19HsG*. It is preserved in four nineteenth-century manuscripts, which are discussed in detail at the end of this chapter. The text of *19HsG* is four times longer than the seventeenth-century saga (*17HsG*). Its length is achieved through the addition of episodes and motifs, as well as numerous rhetorical amplifications, which change the stylistic impression of the saga. While *17HsG* is episodic and short of descriptive passages, *19HsG* has a strong narrative thread with elaborate descriptions of events and characters. The differences between the content and style of these two sagas are so significant that they should be seen as two distinct adaptations of the same material, rather than versions of the same work, and are treated as such in the present study.

The differences between *17HsG* and *19HsG* are quite clear from the beginning of the text. The seventeenth-century saga, as preserved in the oldest manuscript, AM 601 b 4to (A601), starts as follows:

> ⟨S⟩á k*on*gr rieþe f*yrir* ┤Gordom├ ᛊ┤ı danm*orc*├ᛊ er Olafr h*iet*, h*ann* v*ar* s*onr* Gnóþar Asmund*ar*, h*ann* var frǫgr *maþr*. Brǫþr .ij. kári oc ørnulfr, v*oru* l*an*dv*arnar* m*enn* k*on*gz, herm*enn* mikl*er* (A601, f. 1r)
>
> (A king ruled over Garðir in Denmark, who was called Ólafur. He was the son of Gnóðar-Asmundur. He was a famous man. Two brothers, Kári and Örnúlfur, were king's land-wardens; great warriors.)

Meanwhile, the *19HsG* is much more verbose and begins in the following way in London, British Library Add. MS 11109 (B11109), which is also the base text of our edition:

> Sva hefr Søgo þ*ess*a, a*t* á þ*ei*m tímu*m* s*em* m*argir* Stólk*ongar* v*oro* í Norvegi, Danm*orco* o*c* Svíþjóþ, g*jǫr*þost m*argir* Hǫfþíngj*ar* o*c* st*or*mektug*ir* Herr*ar*, Greif*ar* oc J*arlar*, s*em* bruto s*ic* t*il* ric*j*a o*c* landa, h*er*juþo sva v*el* á vetr*om* s*em* sumr*om*, o*c* ǫbluþo sér sva fjár o*c* frægþa A m*ed*al þ*ess*ara o*c* þ*ví*líkra v*ar* ein*n* mic*i*ls ver*þr* K*óng*r, s*em* Olafr h*iet*, h*ann* v*ar* ólatasti t*il* b*ar*daga, ǫr af fé v*it* vini sína, en*n* str*an*gr o*c* hefnigj*ar*n v*it* Ovini; h*ann* r*ac* af r*ic*j*om* m*arg*a K*on*ga o*c* hǫfþíngja, o*c* hafþi vetrseto í Norvegi, sérdeilis á Háloga l*an*di, þ*ar* sat K*óng*r optast. K*óngr* átti ij systr, s*em* fram*m* t*óc*o ǫll*om* ǫþr*om* mey*om*,

> a*t* kost*om* o*c* qven*n*príþi, hyggind*om* *sem* h*an*dvirþ*om*, á millum Vícr o*c* Hálogal*an*ds, h*i*et ǫn*n*r Dagný e*n* ǫn*n*r Svanhvít (B11109, f. 106v)
>
> (So begins this saga, that at that time when there were many petty kings in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, many became chieftains and powerful lords, counts and earls, who gained power and land, constantly carried on wars regardless of season, and gained for themselves wealth and fame. Among these and similar men there was one important king who was named Ólafur; he was most eager for battles, generous towards his friends but harsh and vengeful towards his enemies. He drove many kings and chieftains away from their countries and had his winter sojourn in Norway, especially in Hálogaland, where the king was most often. The king had two sisters who surpassed all other women between Vík and Hálogaland in quality and beauty, intelligence and skilfulness; one was called Dagný and the other Svanhvít.)

By comparing these opening paragraphs, we see not only the significant amount of rhetorical amplification in *19HsG*, but also a different structure, and the addition of new information. *19HsG* first provides a lengthy introduction to the political situation of medieval Scandinavia, then we learn about King Ólafur's characteristics and his origins in Norway, and finally we are told the names of his sisters. The beginning of *17HsG* is far more laconic and closely follows the structure of the medieval *rímur* of Hrómundur, in which King Ólafur is introduced first and his two retainers immediately afterwards.

Despite the extensive amplifications in *19HsG*, it is still possible to demonstrate that the materials originating from both *Griplur* and *17HsG* are present in *19HsG*. As discussed elsewhere, the sagawriter seems to have consciously used both sources and in some cases provided additional details originating from *Griplur* which are omitted in *17HsG*. In other cases, they chose to follow *17HsG* against the *rímur*.[4]

4. For a study of the relationships among different adaptations of the story in prose and verse, including *17HsG*, *19HsG*, *Griplur*, and the younger *Hrómundar rímur Greipssonar*, see: Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'. For a long durée perspective on the adaptation history of Hrómundar saga, from the 1119 Reykhólar feast to Týr's performance of the music adaptation of a Scandinavian ballad, see: Kapitan, 'From Oral Prosimetrum to Viking Metal'.

This chapter serves as an introduction to this new saga of Hrómundur. It casts light on different aspects of the saga's style and transmission, allowing us to place it in the broader context of Icelandic literary production and consumption. We start with a brief plot summary of *19HsG* foregrounding some of the elements of the story unknown from *17HsG*. This is followed by a discussion of selected motifs and innovations introduced into the story, identifying some parallels within the Old Norse literary corpus. Next, we turn to the language of the saga and its possible origins. The chapter concludes with a section focused on the saga's production by describing the manuscripts that preserve it, revealing the textual relationships among them, and analysing the literary context in which the saga appears.

4.1 Plot summary

The younger saga of Hrómundur, *19HsG* counts around 12.000 words (about four times the length of *17HsG*) and is divided into twenty-one chapters.[5] In one of the manuscripts preserving the saga, Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn, Lbs 679 4to (L679), each chapter is given a distinct heading, or title. While these chapter headings do not appear in other manuscripts, they offer insights into the principal events occurring within each chapter. They are presented here for the reader's convenience.

1. 'Frá Olafi K*on*gi *og* sistru*m* h*ans*, *og* Hrómundi *og* b*rædrum* h*ans*'
2. 'B*ar*d*a*gi Olafs K*on*gs vid Hraungvid *og* fall Kára *og* Ørn⟨o⟩lfs'
3. 'Hrom*undr* fellir Hraungv*id*, Ol*afr* K*ongr* fær sigr'
4. 'Frä vid rædu Hrom*undar og* Helga frækna'
5. 'Máni s*egir* Hrom*undi* til Þräins'
6. 'Hrom*undr* for i haug Þräins'
7. 'Hrom*undr* vin*n*r Þräin*n*'
8. 'Voli rægir Hrom*und* h*ann* þiggr heim bod af fódr sijn*um*'
9. 'Hrom*undr* f*or* frá K*on*gs hirdin*n*i fijrir rog bilds *og* vola'

5. Two of the manuscripts (London, British Library, Add. 11109 and Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn, Lbs 1572 4to) incorrectly enumerate the chapters up to twenty-two.

10. '*Tíundi* Capituli'[6]
11. 'B*ard*agi Olafs K*ongs* vid Svija *og* fall Hálfdans K*on*gs'
12. 'Hrom*undr* for til orustun*n*ar'
13. 'H[elgi] [dr]epur bædr Hromundar'[7]
14. 'Hrom*undr* fellir Helga drepr Vola'
15. 'Hagall grædir Hrom*und*'
16. 'Blindr njosnar eptir Hrom*undi*'
17. 'Frä draumum Blinds'
18. 'Halfd*án* K*on*gr bijr her til Svijþjodar'
19. 'Hrom*undr* sættist vid Ol*af* K*on*g'
20. 'Hrom*undr* Vin*n*r Hald*án* K*on*g'
21. 'Blindr Heingdr Hrom*undr* giptist Svanh*vít*'

What is worth noting here is that from these chapter headings alone, it would be impossible to conclude that there are any additional episodes in the *19HsG* which are not present in *17HsG*. Therefore, these additional elements are foregrounded in the brief summary below.

The story begins by introducing Ólafur and his court and then Greipur and his family. Ólafur, king of Norway, dwells mainly in Hálogaland and has two beautiful sisters, Svanhvít and Dagný. There are two deceitful retainers in Ólafur's army, Bildur and Vóli, who are greatly valued by the king. Greipur lives nearby and is married to Gunnlaug, or Vallaug, daughter of Hrókur the Black. They have nine sons and Hrómundur is the oldest and most promising of the brothers.

Hrómundur emerges as a hero with remarkable combat skills during Ólafur's raiding journey to Sweden, which led to a great battle in which Hrómundur avenges his foster-brother Kári's death by defeating Hröngviður. Following this, Hrómundur undertakes a quest to retrieve treasures from Þráinn's burial mound, confronting and overcoming Þráinn. This brought him enormous fame and excessive wealth for Ólafur and his companions.

The saga intricately weaves in elements of chivalric romance and adventure tale, as Hrómundur's journey is filled with hunting

6. There is no additional title for this chapter.
7. This is mostly illegible due to a large ink stain.

trips, prophetic dreams, and supernatural encounters. After a successful hunting trip led by Ólafur, during which Hrómundur's dog, Hrókur, plays a significant role, Vóli and Bildur kill the dog out of jealousy. Hrómundur keeps the incident to himself and abstains from joining the next hunting trip. Ólafur is led to believe Hrómundur's absence is due to him spending time with his sister, Svanhvít, which does not please the king. Tensions escalate when Ólafur decides to confront his sister and Hrómundur. A plan is hastily devised by Svanhvít to disguise Hrómundur with magical assistance, enabling him to evade Ólafur's wrath. She takes a yellow stone and passes it over Hrómundur's face to change his appearance into that of a servant woman. When Ólafur cannot find Hrómundur, he vents his anger on Svanhvít, slapping her face and calling her names. Meanwhile, Hrómundur finds his brothers and they set off to stay with Greipur, their father who welcomes them warmly.

Now the story turns to Sweden where Kings Hálfdans collect their army and send envoys to King Ólafur to summon him to a battle on the frozen lake Vænir. Despite Ólafur's regret over the absence of Hrómundur and his brothers, the battle proceeds with the Swedish army, aided by Helgi, the brother of Hröngviður, and his shape-shifting mistress Kára. This leads to significant losses for Ólafur, including the death of Bildur, one of the evil brothers.

Following the heavy casualties, Ólafur seeks reinforcements from Norway. Hrómundur, initially hesitant to follow the king due to past grievances, is eventually convinced by Svanhvít to aid him in the battle. He sets off armed with a protective shield and a garter for enhanced prowess that he received from Svanhvít. Upon his arrival, Hrómundur sets his tent on the other side of the lake with the intention of joining the combat, but, following some bad dreams he had the previous night, he decides to abstain from joining the battle that day. His brothers, however, decide to go and they are all slain by Helgi, assisted by his mistress Kára. The death of his brothers at the hands of Helgi and Kára compels Hrómundur to enter the battle, where he avenges their deaths by killing Helgi.

The saga takes a dramatic turn when Hrómundur encounters Vóli on the ice, leading to a fierce confrontation that results in Vóli's death but also great injuries to Hrómundur and the loss of

his sword, Mistilteinn, into the lake's depths. Reflecting on the battle's aftermath, Hrómundur mourns the loss of his brothers and the sword, regretting not heeding Svanhvít's advice. Near death from wounds and cold, Hrómundur is rescued by Hagall, accompanied by Svanhvít and her sister Dagný. Hagall and his wife Haddís nurse Hrómundur back to health. During his recovery, Hagall retrieves Hrómundur's lost sword, Mistilteinn, finding it inside a large fish. As Hrómundur's health improves, a threat looms again when one of Hálfdan's men, Blindur, determined to capture him, arrives at Hagall's home and wants to search it for Hrómundur. Through clever deception and the quick thinking of Haddís, Hrómundur evades capture by disguising himself first as a servant girl and a shepherd, fooling Blindur and his search party with each attempt.

In the concluding part of the saga, Blindur, after experiencing ominous dreams, approaches King Hálfdan for interpretations which hint at impending doom for both. Meanwhile, Hrómundur, having recovered, informs his father about the loss of his brothers, aligning with previous prophetic dreams. Despite a peace agreement, Ólafur aims to confront Hálfdan once more but faces reluctance from Hrómundur to rejoin his forces due to past grievances. Svanhvít convinces Hrómundur again to support Ólafur, this time under the condition of their marriage after the campaign. Together, they launch a surprise attack on Hálfdan in Uppsala, resulting in Hálfdan's death and paving the way for Hrómundur and Svanhvít's wedding. The saga concludes with the execution of Blindur, and the union of Hrómundur and Svanhvít in a grand celebration, leading to a prosperous life and a lineage that includes Ingólfur, the legendary first settler of Iceland.

4.2 Additions

For a reader familiar with *17HsG* it will be clear from the plot summary above that there is a number of additional motifs that appear in *19HsG*, which are completely absent from *17HsG*. These additions include not only whole new episodes, the sources of which remain largely unknown, but also repetitions of similar scenes or

motifs known from the older saga in a different context, as well as occasional incorporation of additional materials from *Griplur*.

There are simply too many such instances to list and discuss them here at large, but to give the reader a general impression of different types of changes appearing in the saga, we focus on a selected cases representing each type of an addition. We start with the additions derived from *Gripur*, represented by the killing of Hrókur, which proves the relationship between *19HsG* and the medieval *rímur*.[8] Then we move to the repeating motifs derived from *17HsG*, represented by the presence of prophetic dreams and the use of disguise to escape danger. Finally, we close this section with the episodes derived from outside the Hrómundar saga tradition, represented here by the yawning of Haddís, the appearance of Hagall as a flying dragon, and the violence against Svanhvít.

Hrókur

A clear evidence for the influence of *Griplur* on *19HsG* can be found in chapter seven of the saga, in which Hrómundur's dog, Hrókur, is killed by the evil brothers, Bildur and Vóli. As noted in previous scholarship, some misunderstanding occurred in *17HsG*, which led to Hrókur being a man in the saga, while in the *rímur* he was a dog.[9] *19HsG* does not reproduce the misunderstanding of *17HsG*, but instead follows the tradition derived from the *rímur*. In the *19HsG* we read:

> þ*a*r h*a*fþi K*óngr* vetrseto m*e*þ hyrþ sína, þ*a*nn vetr, hjá Burgeis no*ck*rom, h*a*nn v*a*r Gnúdi kallaþr, h*a*nn gaf K*óngi* m*a*rga góþa gripi o*c* sva m*ǫ*nnom h*a*ns; h*a*nn gaf Hróm*undi* ein*n* ra*ck*a, s*e*m v*a*r sva v*e*l viti b*o*rinn, s*e*m m*a*þr, o*c* skjótr s*e*m ǫr, o*c* hit mesta g*e*rsemi v*a*r h*a*nn, sá v*a*r Hrókr kallaþr (B11109, f. 114v).
>
> (There the king with his army had a winter sojourn with a certain burgess, who was called Gnúði [and who] gave the king and his men many great gifts. He gave Hrómundur a certain dog, which was as intelligent as a man, and as fast as an arrow.)

8. Other examples illustrating the dependence of *19HsG* on *Griplur* can be found in Kapitan, 'Hrómundur in Prose and Verse'.

9. Andrews, 'Studies in the Fornaldarsǫgur Norðrlanda (Continued)'; Jesch, 'Hrómundr Gripsson Revisited'.

Even though *19HsG* presents Hrókur as a dog, there are some discrepancies between *Griplur* and the saga when it comes to the value of the dog. In *Griplur* stanza IV:5, Hrómundur gives a man named Grundi, from whom he received the dog, a golden ring which weighs one mark, 'eyrir vegr og aðra sjau'.[10] In *19HsG* the golden ring weighs two marks of silver, 'vóg v*it* ij m*er*cr sylfors' (B11109, f. 114v). This may be the result of a misunderstanding of the *rímur*, indicating that the poetic language might have been equally difficult to understand for the scribes in the seventeenth and nineteenth century. After all, in the *17HsG* the weight of a ring that Hrómundur gives to the man named Hrókur equals to only one ounce 'H*a*m gaf ein*um* m*anni*, þ*ei*m e*r* Hrókur h*i*et eitt sinn, gullh*r*ing gódann e*r* vó eýri' (A601, f. 3r).

Prophetic dreams

Recurring in *17HsG* and *19HsG* is the motif of *Bad dreams as an evil omen* (D1812.5.1.2).[11] In *17HsG* there are two episodes that utilise this motif. In the first one, Hrómundur does not join the battle because of the bad dream he had the previous night (see p. 236). In the second one, Blindur narrates multiple of his dreams to the king of the Swedes who consistently misinterprets them (see p. 240). In the first case, the reader does not know the contents of the dream, because Hrómundur only announces that he will not participate in the battle because of the bad dream he had, without giving an account of it. In the second case, there are detailed descriptions of the dreams, followed by the king's interpretations. The schematic presentation of the dreams and their interpretations one after another strengthens the impression that the king is misinterpreting the dreams, which in fact refer to his future.

In *19HsG*, the occurrences of this motif have been doubled in relation to *17HsG*, as they appear in four independent episodes. First, Hrómundur's father, Greipur, summons Hrómundur to visit him. Greipur tells Hrómundur about his bad dream, specifying its contents and, to a certain extent, providing his own interpretation

10. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, I:381.

11. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*; Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*.

(see p. 280). He finishes his account of the dream in the following way:

> Nú hef e*c* sagt þér draum min*n*, e*n* þú mant ráþa ve*r*þa me*þ* tíþin*n*i. Hrómu*n*d*r* svara*r*: bæþi er þa*t*, a*t* draumurin*n* þyki*r* ecki sva me*r*kilegr, enda erto o*c* ma*þr* orþin*n* gamall. Satt er þa*t* se*g*i*r* Grei*þr* a*t* e*c* er gamall vo*r*þin*n*, e*n* víst man draumurin*n* eitthvaþ me*r*kja, þ*ví* mér féllst hugr u*m* hríng*an*a, o*c* þa*t* villda e*c*, Fr*æ*n*d*i! a*t* þú talaþ*ir* vi*t* þær systr Ola*fs* K*ó*ngs, o*c* manto þei*r*ra njóta, e*n* Bíld o*c* Vola skalto va*r*ast þ*ví* þei*r* ero ótrú*ir* fleyrsto*m* o*c* se*g*ja K*ó*ng*i* satt o*c* log*it* af ǫþro*m* mǫ*nn*o*m*. (B11109, f. 115v)
>
> (Now I have told you my dream, and you will have to interpret it later. Hrómundur answers: For one thing, the dream does not seem important, and for another, you have become an old man. It is true, says Greipur, that I have become old, but certainly the dream must mean something, because I thought about the rings, and this I want, my kinsman, that you talk to the sisters of King Ólafur and enjoy their company, but you must avoid Bíldur and Vóli because they are treacherous towards most people and tell the king truth and lies about other men.)

Even though Hrómundur initially dismisses the importance of the dream, he visits Svanhvít and asks her to interpret his father's dream. She advises him to stay away from King Ólafur because he is under the influence of the treacherous brothers Bíldur and Vóli. Greipur's dream foreshadows the events described in the following chapter, when Hrómundur is forced to flee from Ólafur's court due to the slander of Bíldur and Vóli.

The next dream in *19HsG* serves a similar purpose. This time, it is Svanhvít who tells Hrómundur about her bad dream (see p. 282). She does not offer any interpretation of her dream, but its significance seems clear to both her and Hrómundur, as the saga presents it in the following way:

> þa*t* dreymdi mi*c* eitt sin*n*, a*t* e*c* þóktist búa u*m* þi*c* í eino rúmi, o*c* va*r*sto lítt haldin*n*, e*n* þó mælt*ir* þú ti*l* mín, e*n* br*æ*þ*r*o*m* þíno*m* bjó e*c* an*n*a*t* rúm, o*c* tǫluþo þei*r* ecki neitt ti*l* mín. Máské sva ve*r*þi se*g*i*r* Hrómu*n*d*r* o*c* tó*c* fíngorgull o*c* gaf henni, o*c* gé*ck* burt síþ*an*, e*n* hún b*at* h*ann* v*el* fara (B11109, f. 116r).

> (I dreamed once, that it seemed to me I attended to you in one bed, and you were in a bad condition, but you spoke to me, but for your brothers I prepared another bed and they did not talk to me at all. Maybe it will be this way, said Hrómundur, and took a ring and gave it to her, and afterwards left, and she bade him farewell.)

Unlike in the previous episode, in this scene there is a certain understanding between Hrómundur and Svanhvít about the importance and meaning of this dream. By saying 'Maybe it will be this way', Hrómundur expresses his understanding of the dream's meaning and acknowledges the possibility of its coming true, but at the same time hr implies that he is not going to actively avoid his fate. The dream presenting Hrómundur's speechless brothers and the severely ill Hrómundur prepares the reader for the outcome of the forthcoming battle, in which Hrómundur is gravely wounded and all of his eight brothers fall.

Before the battle, Hrómundur himself has a bad dream, which makes him stay in his tent and not go to fight. This scene closely resembles the corresponding scene in *17HsG*, where Hrómundur only announces that he has had a bad dream and will not participate in the battle, but we do not know the contents of the dream:

> h*ann* leggr s*ic* t*il* svefns, o*c* lætr ílla í svefni; a*t* m*or*gni vaknar h*ann*, o*c* blæs mæþilega; þ*ei*r br*æþ*r sp*yrja* h*ann* ept*ir* draumom sínom, e*n* h*ann* qv*aþ*st engom s*egja* o*c* man e*c* ei út f*ar*a á þ*essom* degi, s*egir* h*ann*, þótt aþr*ir* f*ar*i (B11109, f. 120v).
>
> (He goes to sleep and sleeps badly. The next morning, he wakes up and breathes heavily. His brothers ask him about his dreams, but he says he won't tell anyone, and I won't go out today, he says, even if others go.)

The motif of prophetic dreams is very common in Old Norse literature across various genres, from *Íslendingasögur* to *konungasögur* and *fornaldarsögur*, but one of the examples closest to Hrómundur's prophetic dream can be found in chapter 12 of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, a legendary saga and prequel to *Friðþjófs saga*.[12] A significant difference between these two narratives is, however, that Þorsteinn actually describes his dream and provides an inter-

12. Rafn, *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, II:383–459.

pretation of it, while in both *17HsG* and *19HsG* we have to find out later that the dream was related to the death of Hrómundur's brothers in the battle.

The last occurrence of the motif of bad dreams as an evil omen in *19HsG* is the sequence of Blindur's dreams, which predicts the near death of King Hálfdan. In chapter 17, Blindur gives the king an account of his prophetic dreams, but the king misinterprets them all, just as in *17HsG*. The sequence of dreams is not identical to that in *17HsG*. Among the innovations in *19HsG* there is an additional dream, which is presented as follows:

> oc þar eptir sá ec yþar betsta drecaskip, mara í miþjo kafi í brimi oc sjóaræþi gangi, en allr herinn yþar stóþ hǫfotlaus niþr í eino vatni (B11109, f. 127v).
>
> (And afterwards I saw your best ship submerged in the surf and in the rage of the sea, and your entire army stood headless below in the water.)

While there is no corresponding dream of a headless army in *17HsG*, *Griplur* appears to be the most likely source. There, in stanza 25 of the sixth *ríma*, we can read: 'Dreki þinn leiz mér færðr á flóð, / flaut í báru miðri,/ hǫfuðlaus allr herrinn stóð / í heitu vatni niðri' (Your ship appeared to me in the open waters, it floated in the middle of a wave, in the burning water below all your headless army stood).[13]

Disguise

Another recurring motif that appears in *19HsG* and is also found in *17HsG* is that of *Disguise of man in a woman's dress* (K1836), which is widely known beyond Iceland in the literary traditions of, for instance, Italy, Ireland and India.[14]

In *17HsG*, Hrómundur hides at Hagall's house disguised as a woman grinding corn while Blindur searches the house at the request of King Haldíng (see p. 240). The same motif appears in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*, where Helgi, disguised as a servant girl grinding corn, hides at Hagall's place while Blindur looks for him

13. Finnur Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, I:403.
14. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*.

following the orders of King Hundingr.[15] It has been observed in the scholarship that the close similarities between these two scenes suggest that the account of *Griplur* (and secondarily also *17HsG*) has been modelled on *Helgakviða*.[16] This specific motif has been called *Man in danger of life dressed by hostess as woman and set to grinding corn* (K521.4.1.3).[17]

The same motif appears in chapter 16 of *19HsG*, where the disguise helps Hrómundur to avoid Blindur (see p. 303). Here it is not certain, however, whether Hrómundur is set to grinding corn or stirring porridge:

> Þá s*egir* k*er*líng v*it* Hróm*und* nú skalto f*ar*a í fǫt Eldabusko min*nar*, oc skalto hræ*r*a graut t*il* matg*jǫr*þ*ar*, fékk hún h*onom* þá Mistiltein f*yrir* graut*ar* þvǫro, oc m*æl*ir me*þ* þvǫrun*n*i má v*er*jast ef á liggr. Litlo síþ*ar* q*v*omo m*enn* K*óng*s, oc sǫgþust vilja betr leita, e*n* fyrr. Hag*all* s*egir* þe*im* heimila r*an*sǫkun, leita þe*ir* nú lengi, oc fin*n*a ec*k*i Hróm*und* a*t* heldr; sáo þe*ir* nú Eldabuskuna, a*t* hún dró til Möndulin*n*, oc leit óhýrt t*il* K*óng*s m*ann*a (B11109, f. 126r).
>
> (Then says the woman to Hrómundur: Now you must put on my kitchen maid's clothes, and you must stir porridge for cooking. She then gave him Mistilteinn as a ladle and says: You can defend yourself with the ladle if necessary. Shortly afterwards the king's men came and said that they wanted to search better than before. Hagall says that the house is open to investigation and now they search for a long time and still don't find Hrómundur. Now they saw that the kitchen maid was drawing the handle of the quern and looking belligerently towards them.)

It is worth noting that *19HsG* had already used the same motif of a man's disguise as a woman earlier in the saga; in one of the additional episodes, which includes an extended description of Vóli's and Bildur's attempts to discredit Hrómundur for King Ólafur. Ólafur is informed by the evil brothers about the frequent visits that Hrómundur pays to his sister Svanhvít and decides to go to Svanhvít's house and confront Hrómundur there. When Svanhvít learns

15. Bugge, *Norrøn fornkvæði, islandsk Samling af folkelige Oldtidsdigte om Nordens Guder og Heroer, almindelig kaldet Sæmundar Edda hins Fróða*, 191.

16. Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 91–93; Holtsmark, 'Helgediktingen', 314–318.

17. Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*.

about the imminent arrival of her brother, she hurries to get Hrómundur safely out of her house (see p. 283).

> Svanhv*ít* gé*ck* a*t* Hróm*undi* o*c* m*ælir* nú mátto e*ck*i tefja, þ*ví* Br*óþir* m*inn* kémr in*nan* lítils tíma o*c* vill f*an*ga þ*ic*, skalto t*aca* v*it* qven*n*-skrúþa v*orum*, o*c* mæta K*óngi* v*it* gjætt*ir*, o*c* b*er* sængr fǫt o*c* hvílo voþ*ir* í f*an*gi þér, [...] síþ*an* t*óc* Svanhv*ít* ljósgul*ann* stein, o*c* dró u*m* andlit h*an*s, fé*ck* h*ann* þá yf*ir*lit hen*nar* þjónosto mey*ar* (B11109, f. 116v).
>
> (Svanhvít went to Hrómundur and says: You cannot stay here any longer, because my brother will be arriving here soon and he will capture you. You shall take my female clothing and meet the king by the gate, and you shall carry bedlinen and blankets in your arms. [...] Then Svanhvít took a bright-yellow stone and moved it over his face, which gave him the appearance of her servant girl.)

This scene is neither a direct reuse of the corn-grinding scene nor a simple replication of the man in woman's dress motif, since the element of changing clothes is here expanded by a magical (?) transformation of Hrómundur's appearance. The use of the stone in this scene is significant, as it might be considered evidence for the generic fluidity of *19HsG*, which builds on traditional legendary saga material, but also freely draws literary inspiration from *riddarasögur*.

Magic stones appear in various translated and indigenous *riddarasögur* where, among other functions, they can be used for transformation (D572.5 *Transformation by means of magic stone*) or give invisibility (D1361.2 *Magic stone gives invisibility*). Possibly the closest analogue to the example from *19HsG* can be found in *Gibbons saga*, an Icelandic romance dated to the fourteenth century, in which magic stones appear several times in various functions. For example, Greka passes a magic stone over Gibbon's head to remove his sexual desire and Florentina passes a red stone over Gibbon's head to foresee the future. In particular, a yellow stone is used by a dwarf named Kollur to change Gibbon's appearance when he is about to enter the chambers of Florentina with the intention of raping her.

In *19HsG* Svanhvít gains the magical ability to change Hrómundur's appearance by passing a stone over his head, a quality she lacks in *17HsG*. Consequently, she seems to play a similar sec-

ondary role in the narrative as the dwarfs and exotic princesses encountered in some of the *riddarasögur*. However, the use of magic in itself is not always limited to secondary characters in saga narratives. In *Nítíða saga*, for example, another Icelandic romance also dated to the fourteenth century, a magic stone is used by the main character, Queen Nítíða. In order to protect herself, Nítíða uses the magic stone to change the appearance of her servant woman, so that the latter is kidnapped instead of the queen.[18]

Finally, the motif of disguise appears again in chapter 16, which describes Blindur's search of Hagall's house. It is worth recalling that in *17HsG* Blindur's house is examined only twice. In the first attempt Hrómundur is hidden under a pot (see p. 240), and in the second one Hrómundur is grinding corn disguised as a woman (see p. 240). *19HsG* describes four attempts to find Hrómundur. First, he is hidden under a pot, next he is set to grinding corn (or stirring porridge) disguised as a woman, and the third time he is disguised as a shepherd who is asked by Haddís to go and collect the sheep. While in disguise, Hrómundur meets Blindur, who fails to recognise him, and in this way Hrómundur again avoids being captured. This is the motif of *Disguise as herdsman* (K1816.6), but I have been unable to find a scene in the Old Norse literary corpus that closely resembles the scene in *19HsG*. In *Víga-Glúms saga*, this motif is used in the scene in which Skúta pretends to be looking for his sheep to avoid Glúmur's men. At the same time, this scene is quite different in its structure. Whereas in *19HsG* it is Haddís who gives Hrómundur clear instructions about how to behave, in *Víga-Glúms saga* the disguise is Skúta's own initiative.[19]

Flying dragon

While the change of Hrómundur's appearance by the use of a magic stone can already be treated as an additional motif introduced in *19HsG*, whose sources lie outside the *17HsG* tradition, the last attempt of finding Hrómundur by Blindur in *19HsG* is an even more straightforward case. The last of Blindur's attempts fails not

18. Loth, *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*; McDonald Werronen, '*Nítíða saga*: A Normalised Icelandic Text and Translation'; McDonald Werronen, *Popular Romance in Iceland: The Women, Worldviews, and Manuscript Witnesses of Nítíða saga*.

19. Jónas Kristjánsson, 'Víga-Glúms Saga', 54.

because of any disguise, but, it seems, due to Hagall's supernatural abilities (see p. 304).

> g*en*gr nú Hag*all* á móti þ*ei*m a*t* g*ar*þi út, e*n* er þ*ei*r sáu h*an*n v*ar*þ h*ann* und*arle*gr í aug*om* þ*eir*ra, sýndist þ*ei*m þá, at Flugdr*eci* sækja a*t* þ*ei*m, t*óco* þ*ei*r þá a*t* leita aptr t*il* b*ak*a, o*c* snúa heim leiþis, e*n* Draconin*n* sókti eptir þ*ei*m af meirsta kappi, sýndist þ*ei*m h*ann* blása eldi o*c* eytri, villdo þá sum*ir* bíþa h*an*s, e*n* sum*ir* for*þ*a sér, v*ar*þ þ*at* þá fleyrst*om* f*yrir* a*t* leita sér und*an* fær*s*lo, v*ar*aþi þ*ess*i adsókn fram*m* a*t* qvòldi (B11109, f. 126v–127r)
>
> (Now Hagall goes against them out to the yard, and when they saw him, he appeared somewhat strange in their eyes. It seemed to them then, that a flying dragon was hunting them. They started to run away and head back towards home, but the dragon followed them with great eagerness, and it seemed to them as if he was blowing fire and venom. Then some of them wanted to wait for him, but others wanted to escape, and it came to this that most of them decided to flee. The haunting continued until evening.)

Neither *17HsG* nor *Griplur* assigns any supernatural abilities to the cottager Hagall, besides his surprising luck in catching a fish that had earlier swallowed Hrómundur's sword. In *19HsG*, we witness the saga-writer again drawing from the stock imagery of Old Norse literature, but using it in slightly different contexts from those we are used to.

When flying dragons appear in the Old Norse literary corpus, they are usually supposed to be slain by great heroes.[20] In *19HsG*, the dragon seems to be an illusion that is somehow generated by Hagall in order to scare the enemies. They do not engage in a fight but simply run away, perhaps emphasising their inferiority to other, more courageous saga characters. The appearance of the dragon in *19HsG* clearly draws on romance imagery: the dragon is not only flying but also spitting venom and fire, features present in some *riddarasögur*, for example, *Tristrams saga og Ísöndar* and *Ívens saga*.

20. Ármann Jakobsson, 'Enter the Dragon: Legendary Saga Courage and the Birth of the Hero'; Cutrer, 'The Wilderness of Dragons: The Reception of Dragons in Thirteenth Century Iceland'.

Yawning

Another scene of *19HsG*, absent from both *17HsG* and *Griplur*, is the episode when, while Hrómundur is being healed at Hagall and Haddís's cottage, Haddís cannot speak one day owing to the great yawning that suddenly falls upon her. As the saga tells us:

> No*ck*ro ept*ir* þetta, þeg*ar* Hróm*undr* t*óc* a*t* ver*þ*a gróinn sára sin*n*a, skéþi þ*at*: k*er*líng t*óc* t*il* a*t* fá sva stóra geispa, a*t* hún q*v*om v*ar*la fram*m* orþi f*yrir* þ*ei*m (B1109, f. 125v).
>
> (Sometime after this, when Hrómundur was being healed of his wounds,this happens: the woman [Haddís] started to yawn so much that she could barely say a word.)

The yawning occurs when Haddís predicts that Blindur is going to reveal Hrómundur's identity and whereabouts to King Hálfdan, which later results in Blindur searching for Hrómundur. Haddís, like many other female saga characters, must possess some supernatural ability to foresee the future, and the act of yawning must be related to this ability. The knowledge of the upcoming danger suddenly falls upon her in the form of the yawning fit. It has been suggested that yawning in Old Norse literature represents inhaling spirits, which provide information about, for example, upcoming danger.[21]

While it is difficult to identify with certainty the sources of this motif in *19HsG*, yawning appears in various genres of Icelandic literature. In *Hrólfs saga kraka*, one of the most famous legendary sagas, there is a scene in which Heiður, a völva, yawns greatly before involuntarily delivering a prophecy regarding the whereabouts of two boys that the evil king attempts to find.[22] In *Njáls saga*, probably the best-known saga of Icelanders, yawning appears in the scene where Svanur senses that Ósvífur is about to attack and announces it while yawning greatly.[23] In both cases, yawning is related to some knowledge which can be mediated only through the yawning person. As Quinn observed in her study of Eddic prophecies in the legendary sagas, it is usually female characters that have

21. Heide, 'Spirits Through Respiratory Passages'.

22. Slay, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, 10; Quinn, '*Ok Verðr Henni Ljóð á Munni* – Eddic Prophecy in the Fornaldarsögur', 39–40.

23. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Brennu-Njáls saga*, 37; Lönnroth, *Njáls Saga: A Critical Introduction*, 132.

access to this sort of passive knowledge, which is supposed to be communicated to the main hero and advance his adventures. In *19HsG*, Haddís warns Hrómundur to prepare himself for the visit from Blindur, but the hero does not take any action, and it is again her role to help him escape.

Violence

Finally, it is worth to mention here that some of the less noticeable changes made to the text are quite intriguing, as they might, to some extent, reflect changes in Icelandic mentality in the premodern period. A good example is the episode in which Ólafur confronts Svanhvít about her relationships with Hrómundur. In chapter 3 of *17HsG* this episode is presented as follows:

> k*ong*⟨r⟩ su*arar* he*ý*rt h*e*fi ek getiþ h*ann* m*vn*þi fifla þik, oc s*ka*l suerþiþ skilia ýck*ar* ást. Lýtt manstu nú s*agde* hu*n*, þegar h*ann* ei*r*n gieck i hauginn, enn eingi ann*ar* þo*r*þi, oc fir man voli og bylþr heingþ*ir* ve*r*þa s*agde* h*on* Geck sýþann snvþuckt i brot (A601, f. 3v).
>
> (The king answers: I have heard that he [Hrómundur] might deceive you, and the sword shall separate your love. You remember little now, she said, when he alone went into the mound, while no one else dared, and sooner will Vóli and Bildur be hanged, she said and walked quickly away.)

The same scene is described as follows in chapter 9 of *19HsG*:

> K*óngr* m*ælir* f*yrir* m*ic* er q*vom*i*t*, *sem* satt man, a*t* Hróm*undr* fipli þ*ic*, oc þ*ví* held e*c* þ*at* líklegast, a*t* þú hald*ir* sv*ari* h*an*s. Svanh*vít* m*ælir* mansto e*ck*i þ*at*, a*t* hv*or*ki þú sjálfr, eþr no*ck*or an*nar* þinn*a* m*ann*a þo*r*þi a*t* f*ar*a í haug Þráins nema Hróm*undr* ein*n*. [4 sentences skipped, see p. 284] Þá reiþdist Ol*afr* K*óngr* o*c* sló Svanhv*ít* sva st*or*t andlits blak, a*t* blóþ*it* féll of h*an*a o*c* m*ælir* haf þetta f*yrir* Hróm*und* þín armadubba o*c* skalto jafn*an* hafa reiþi mína. Svanhv*ít* m*ælir* allt of þ*at* o*c* ei a*t* síþr skal e*c* þá Hróm*und* v*it* v*ar*a o*c* betst unn*a*, e*n* þ*ar* á móti t*il* leggja a*t* vin*ir* þín*ir* Vole o*c* Bíldr ve*r*þi hengþ*ir*. (B11109, f. 117r)
>
> (The king says: It has come to my attention, and it must be true, that Hrómundur deceives you, and therefore I find it most likely that you shall defend him. Svanhvít says: Don't you remember that neither you yourself, nor any of your

> men dared to enter Þráinn's mound except for Hrómundur alone? [4 sentences skipped, see p. 284] Then King Ólafur became angry and struck Svanhvít so hard in the face that blood fell over her and said: take this for Hrómundur, you wretched woman, and you shall always have my anger. Svanhvít speaks: Despite all that, I shall still warn Hrómundur and love him best, and instead your friends Vóli and Bildur will be hanged.)

While in *17HsG* they simply agree to disagree and go their separate ways, in *19HsG* Ólafur slaps Svanhvít in her face for disobedience. Furthermore, and quite surprisingly, this malicious act does not have any bad consequences for the king, other than Hrómundur being initially reluctant to aid him in battle against the Swedes because of his behaviour towards Svanhvít (chapter 12). Svanhvít, even though at first offended, stays loyal to her brother. When she learns that Ólafur is about to lose the battle, she takes his side and convinces Hrómundur to support him. This stands in striking contrast to some sagas of Icelanders, where a man slapping a woman in the face is taken as a great offence and brings bad luck to the man. Some classic examples of that can be found, for example, in *Laxdæla saga* and *Njáls saga*.[24] In *19HsG* this act does not have any meaningful consequences for the offender.

It has been previously suggested that a close examination of textual variants appearing in the younger 'versions' of the sagas can be a useful source for the study of changing mentalities in pre-modern Iceland.[25] There is thus some potential in the comparative analysis of cases such as *19HsG* in further developing our understanding of the relationship between early modern society and literature. To successfully make an argument for possible motivations behind the addition of violence against Svanhvít in *19HsG*, it would be necessary to analyse it in the context of different ways of tackling violence against women in Icelandic literature in general, and such an investigation lies outside the scope of the present study.[26]

24. Finn Magnusen et al., *Laxdæla-saga sive Historia de rebus gestis Laxdölensium*, ch. 34; Konráð Gíslason and Eiríkur Jónsson, *Njála*, ch. 48.

25. Glauser, 'Spätmittelalterliche Vorleseliteratur und frühneuzeitliche Handschriftentradition: Die Veränderungen der Medialität und Textualität der isländischen Märchensagas zwischen dem 14. und 19. Jahrhundert', 397–400.

26. For a recent discussion of the differences in depicting violence against women in legendary sagas and chivalric sagas, see Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, '*How*

4.3 Origins

Considering the dissemination of the work across known manuscripts, the origins of *19HsG* seem to be tied to the literary endeavours of lay scholars in northern Iceland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. All manuscripts preserving *19HsG* were written roughly between 1800 and 1837, with three certainly linked to northern Iceland, specifically the Skagafjörður and Eyjafjörður areas. The geographical origins of the fourth manuscript, B11109, remain uncertain; it is a composite manuscript consisting of parts written in hands that have not yet been identified as belonging to any known scribe.

It is worth mentioning that one of these manuscripts, Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn, Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404), was written by Gísli Konráðsson (1787–1877), one of the most active scribes of the early nineteenth century. Gísli was born in Vellir in the Vallhólmur area of Skagafjörður.[27] He was the son of Konráð Gíslason (d. 1798), a farmer and craftsman, and his third wife, Jófríður Björnsdóttir. Gísli changed his residency a couple of times in his lifetime within the Skagafjarðarsýsla area in northern Iceland, but in the year 1852 he settled on Flatey in East Barðastrandarsýsla (Westfjords), where he spent the rest of his life. Gísli was the father of Konráð Gíslason (1808–1891), a professor of Nordic languages at the University of Copenhagen.[28]

Gísli Konráðsson was not only an extremely active scribe, but also a poet and author of many texts of a historicising character. Although he never received formal education (he taught himself how to write), he is sometimes called Gísli the historian (Ice. Gísli *sagnfræðingur*) due to his burning interest in history and genealogy, expressed for example in his work *Húnvetninga saga*, which is devoted to the history of Húnaþing from around 1700 to 1850.[29] Gísli was also responsible for compiling and rewriting many Icelandic folk

Do You Know If It Is Love or Lust? On Gender, Status, and Violence in Old Norse Literature'.

27. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:66.

28. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, III:369; Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, VI:24–27.

29. Gísli Konráðsson and Sighvatur Grímsson, 'Æfiágrip Gísla sagnfræðings Konráðssonar'.

tales and sagas.[30] He is considered the author of, among other texts, two sagas usually classified as late *Íslendingasögur*, *Skáld-Helga saga* and *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*.[31] The former is a prose adaptation of *Skáld-Helga rímur*, which in turn are believed to be a versification of a lost medieval saga.[32] The oldest known manuscript of Gísli's *Skáld-Helga saga*, Lbs 1316 8vo, is written in the hand of Þorsteinn Gíslason (1776–1838) from Stokkahlaðir, south of Akureyri in northern Iceland, and is dated to 1827. The same scribe, who wrote one of *19HsG* manuscripts, Lbs 1572 4to, discussed further in this chapter. The earliest known and dated manuscripts of *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra* are ÍBR 9 4to, dated to 1816, in the hand of Einar Bjarnason (1785–1856), and Lbs 284 8vo, dated to 1818, in Gísli's own hand.[33]

All these manuscripts are associated with scribes who were active in northern Iceland at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it is worth noting that *19HsG* appears together with *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra* in two manuscripts, B11109 and L2404. In this context, it seems not unlikely that Gísli was also responsible for *19HsG*. Assuming that Gísli Konráðsson, an autodidact who did not receive any formal education, did not start composing sagas be-

30. Gísli Konráðsson and Sighvatur Grímsson, 52, 56.

31. The provenance of selected nineteenth-century adaptations of potentially lost sagas linked to Gísli Konráðsson, such as, *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, *Skáld-Helga saga* and *19HsG*, was the subject of my presentation at the International Saga Conference in August 2018; Kapitan, 'Between Transmission and Reception: Lost Medieval Sagas and Their Post-Medieval Manifestations'. An article stemming from this presentation is yet to be published, as further research into the scribal and literary context associated with the production of these texts is necessary. I am grateful to Shaun Hughes for directing my attention towards the collaboration between Gísli Konráðsson and Jón Espólín during my viva voce in December 2018. This lead is partially explored in the current chapter, which outlines some avenues for future research.

32. Jesch, 'The Lost Literature of Medieval Iceland: Sagas of Icelanders', 207–228; Björn K. Þórólfsson, *Rímur fyrir 1600*, 352–353.

33. Simek and Hermann Pálsson's lexicon incorrectly lists Lbs 2474 4to (dated to ca. 1720), as one of the earliest manuscripts preserving *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, but Lbs 2474 4to does not preserve this text, see: Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:323-324 and the *Handrit.org* description, archived on 04/03/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240304112625/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-2474/.

fore he turned at least 15, the year 1802 would serve as the earliest possible *terminus post quem* for the writing of *19HsG*.[34]

Gísli Konráðsson is not, however, the only plausible candidate in this matter. He states himself in his autobiography that he composed *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra* for the amusement of his close friend, Jón Espólín, who apparently appreciated the archaic style of the text:

> Gísli diktaði og sögu Þorsteins Geirnefsfóstra, og sýndi Espólín að gamni sínu, og kallaði Espólín hana sennilega samda að orðfæri og öðru, sem forn væri.[35]
>
> (Gísli also composed the saga of Þorsteinn, the foster son of Geirnef, and showed it to Espólín for amusement, and Espólín called it convincingly crafted in its composition and other archaic matters.)

This suggests that Jón Espólín (1769–1836) was at least interested in reading contemporary adaptations of older materials and might have had inspired Gísli to compose stories in some archaising style. In fact, Jón Espólín's (1769–1836) interests were not limited to merely reading new reworkings of old sagas, he also created some. He is, for instance, considered the author of another prose reworking of some older materials, namely *Hálfdanar saga gamla*. The prose saga, *Hálfdanar saga gamla*, is based on the *rímur* of Hálfdan, which were composed by Hannes Bjarnason (1776–1838) for Jón Espólín in 1822.[36] Notably, this prose adaptation of the *rímur* also appears together with *19HsG* in one of the manuscripts, L2404, written in Gísli's hand. This suggests that both men were interested in composing sagas about ancient topics and imitating the ancient saga style for their common amusement.

34. While the youngest known scribes of *HsG* were teenagers at the time of writing of the saga, for instance, Eggert Hákonarson was fifteen or seventeen and Þorsteinn Jóhannsson was seventeen, it is uncertain whether a similar age limit can be used for the composing of sagas. It is also worth mentioning that Gísli was supposed to tell stories to entertain his mother, and he is believed to have composed his first stanza when he was eight or nine years old, see: Gísli Konráðsson and Sighvatur Grímsson, 'Æfiágrip Gísla sagnfræðings Konráðssonar', 32.

35. Gísli Konráðsson, *Æfisaga Gísla Konráðssonar ens fróða skrásett af sjálfum honum*, 157.

36. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Rímnatal*, I:200; Jón Espólin, *Saga Jóns Espólíns hins fróða, sýslumanns í Hegranesþingi*, 158.

According to a note accompanying *Hálfdanar saga gamla* in another manuscript, some people originally considered it to be an ancient saga until the author himself openly admitted to composing it:

> Þese saga er uppdiktud af syslumanni sál. J. Espolin og heldu Jmsir hana í fyrstunni fornrit en adrir neitudu þangad til hann sjálfur vidgekk ad hafa samið hana frá stofni (ÍB 618 8vo, f. 55v).
>
> (This saga is composed by the sýslumaður, J. Espólín, and various people considered it at first an ancient text, but others denied this was the case until he himself admitted to composing it from traditional materials.)

This note is important because it provides contemporary evidence for the reception of at least some of these modern adaptations as truly ancient texts. Furthermore, it makes Jón Espólín a likely candidate to be considered as a potential author of *19HsG*.

Jón Espólín and Gísli Konráðsson were known to be close friends, as Gísli himself wrote in his autobiography, 'jafnan var Espólin góður vinur Gísla; fræddist Gísli og af honum að mörgu' (Espólin was always a good friend of Gísli and Gísli learned a lot from him).[37] Furthermore, they lived relatively near each other. From 1808 to 1817, the two men lived some thirty kilometres apart, with Gísli Konráðsson at Langamýri in Skagafjarðarsýsla and Jón Espólín at Viðvík also in Skagafjarðarsýsla. Gísli Konráðsson moved a couple of times, but for most of his life he stayed in the Skagafjörður area, at least until Jón's death.[38] Their proximity facilitated regular contact, opening up the possibility that *19HsG* could be a product of their intellectual exchange and collaboration.

Jón was undoubtedly an important and influential figure in the literary circles of the early nineteenth century in Skagafjörður, with many active scribes, saga authors, and poets belonging to his network. Gísli composed *Rímur af Attila Húnakóngi* for him, while Hannes Bjarnason, in addition to the aforementioned *Rímur af Hálfdani konungi gamla*, also composed *Rímur af Theseus Aþenuman-*

37. Gísli Konráðsson, *Æfisaga Gísla Konráðssonar ens fróða skrásett af sjálfum honum*, 157.

38. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, II:66, III:106.

nakappa for Jón, further attesting to Jón's interest in diverse old stories presented in a new form.

At least one more noteworthy poetic adaptation of another potentially lost medieval saga is associated with this intellectual milieu, although not directly with Jón. *Rímur af Andra jarli* were composed collaboratively by Hannes Bjarnason and Gísli Konráðsson. These nineteenth-century *rímur* of Andri belong to the tradition that can be traced back to the lost medieval saga of Andri, which, just like our *Hrómundar saga*, exists in multiple literary adaptations in prose and verse. The prose *Andra saga* is derived from *Andra rímur*, which share a number of common features with *Griplur*, among them the figure of Svanhvít who, according to Björn Karel, is the same person in both stories, the mound breaking of Bölverk (in *Andra rímur*) and Þráinn (in *Griplur*), and the battle by Elfasker. The similarities between these stories, pointed out by, for example, Ursula Brown, have never been the subject of in-depth scholarly investigation. A comparative analysis of these stories would be highly desirable to provide not only insight into the process of literary adaptation in Iceland from the medieval period to the nineteenth century but also, and potentially more importantly, the reception of the Icelandic medieval past in Iceland in the early modern period, before the rise of national romanticism.

Further investigation is needed to explore the extent of the creative activities of Gísli, Jón, and their contemporaries in the production and dissemination of medieval stories and their adaptations, enabling these narratives to transition freely from one medium to another and remain accessible to the audiences contemporary to themselves. A detailed stylometric comparison of their known texts could provide valuable evidence in identifying the author of *19HsG*, but the authorship question must, for the time being, remain unanswered as it lies beyond the scope of the present study.

Exploring the language of the saga reveals diverse dialectic and archaising features in the *19HsG* texts, which could certainly be of interest for linguists and helpful in understanding the saga's origins and transmission. Notably, in B11109, 'of' replaces 'um' in phrases like 'þar of pláts' for *þar um pláss* (f. 106v), and some labiodentals are voiced, as in 'abli' for *afli* (f. 107r). The high linguistic variation and potential regional influences in the manuscripts calls for further linguistic study of *19HsG*, which is beyond the scope of

this work. It can be tentatively observed that the language seems to corroborate the nineteenth century origins of the saga. On the lexical level, there are some words which are known exclusively from other nineteenth-century works.[39] Among them, we can find words such as 'piltkind'[40] and 'fjárpípa'.[41] The first attestation of 'piltkind' in *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* is from Steingrímur Thorsteinsson's translation of *Þúsund og ein nótt* from 1857–64, but our manuscripts pre-date this occurrence. Similarly, the compound *fjárpípa* is first attested in *Fjölnir*, where it appears in the *Ævintýr af Eggerti Glóa*. This is a translation of Ludwig Tieck's (1773–1853) short novel *Der blonde Eckbert* translated into Icelandic by Jónas Hallgrímsson and Konráð Gíslason.[42] Our manuscripts of *19HsG* again pre-date this occurrence.

Among other expressions that can appear unusual to readers mostly familiar with Old Norse-Icelandic sagas, we can mention the term 'arma dubba' used to address Svanhvít in the episode describing her disagreement with Ólafur. It is an offensive term for women with the earliest examples in *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* from the seventeenth century, among them occurrences in the works of Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674).[43] In Blöndal's dictionary, *dubba* is translated into Danish as 'kvinde, laptaske' and is illustrated by an example 'sagði þær örmu dubbur [...] skyldu'. Elsewhere in the dictionary we can find a similar expression 'þegi þú, þín arma gardranorn', which is translated into Danish as 'ti stille, din forbandede Heks' (be quiet you damned witch), indicating that the term can be mildly translated as a 'damned woman'.[44]

39. The examples presented in this section rely on the information currently accessible through online resources, such as *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans* http://ritmalssafn.arnastofnun.is and *Textasafn Árnastofnunar* http://corpus.arnastofnun.is/, last accessed on 28/02/2024.

40. The word 'piltkind' can be found in B11109 (f. 113v:11) and L679 (f. 55v:30), but it is absent from L2404 (f. 72r:6) and L1572 (f. 82v:13).

41. The word 'fjárpípa' can be found in B11109 (f. 126r:29), L679 (f. 66r:10), L1572 (f. 89r:31), L2404 (f. 91v:16).

42. Tieck, 'Ævintýr af Eggerti Glóa'; for the reception of this work in Iceland, see Jón Karl Helgason, 'Der Blonde Eckbert in an Alien Polysystem: The Reception of Tieck's *Skröksaga* in 19th-Century Iceland'.

43. *Ritmálssafn Orðabókar Háskólans*, http://ritmalssafn.arnastofnun.is, last accessed 28/02/2024.

44. S. Blöndal, *Íslensk-dönsk orðabók*.

4.4 Manuscripts of *19HsG*

Now it is finally time to turn towards the extant manuscripts preserving *19HsG*. As we already know, all four of them were written in the early nineteenth century and are listed in relative chronological order in Table 4.1. In this section, we first focus on the descriptions of the individual manuscripts preserving *19HsG*, examining their physical features and contents, before turning towards the textual relationships among the texts of *19HsG* as well as the manuscript context in which the saga appears.

Table 4.1: Manuscripts of *19HsG*

Siglum	Shelfmark	Date	Scribe
B11109	BL Add. 11109	1800–1837	unknown
L2404	Lbs 2404 8vo	1810–1832	Gísli Konráðsson
L1572	Lbs 1572 4to	1819	Þorsteinn Gíslason
L679	Lbs 679 4to	1834	Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson

BL Add. 11109

BL Add. 11109 (B11109), in the British Library in London, is a paper manuscript in quarto, which consists of ii+140+i leaves.[45] The dating of the manuscript is uncertain. The *Stories for all time* catalogue suggests that B11109 was written in unknown hands between 1800 and 1850,whereas the 'Online Catalogue of the British Library', dates it to the eighteenth century.[46]

B11109 contains twelve texts, mainly classified as *fornaldarsögur*, but also *konungaþættir*, *Íslendingaþættir*, and later *Íslendingasögur*.

45. The manuscript is in a tight binding, which makes it impossible to safely examine its quire structure.

46. 'Online Catalogue of the British Library'; currently unavailable online, but a print-screen from 10 December 2019 of the page can be found in Kapitan, 'Perspectives on Digital Catalogs and Textual Networks of Old Norse Literature', 85. The date in the *Stories for all time* catalogue, archived on 26/02/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240226124407/https://fasnl.net/manuscripts/123, is based on Jón Helgason's unpublished 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library'. An alternative dating has been proposed by Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', cf. Lavender, *Long Lives of Short Sagas: The Irrepressibility of Narrative and the Case of Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

The codex begins with a table of contents, listing all twelve sagas preserved in this manuscript, which are: *Starkaðar saga gamla*, *Hauks þáttur hábrókar*, *Þóris þáttur hasts og Bárðar birtu*, *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa*, *Hálfdanar þáttur svarta*, *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, *Þorsteins þáttur tjaldstæðings*, *Gríms saga Skeljungsbana*, *Huldar saga hinnar miklu*, *19HsG* (ff. 106v–132r), *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, and *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*.

At least four codicological units can be distinguished in B11109, and at least four different hands can be distinguished: hand 1 wrote ff. 2–40, hand 2 ff. 41–48 and 55–88, hand 3 ff. 49–54, and hand 4 from f. 89 onwards. The distribution of the scribal hands overlaps not only with the boundaries of the texts but also with the boundaries of the different types of paper used for particular parts, in which various watermarks can be found. Hand 3, for example, wrote on watermarked paper dated 1824, which allows us to establish a more precise dating for this part of the manuscript.[47] Meanwhile, hand 2 wrote a part containing *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, which, as we already know, is a late *Íslendingasaga* attributed to Gísli Konráðsson.

The part containing *19HsG* is written in hand 4, which employs a regular humanistic cursive with the overall appearance of nineteenth-century Icelandic script, but further work is needed to identify the scribe.[48]

The provenance of B11109 can be traced back to Finnur Magnússon (1781–1847), a professor of literature at the University of Copenhagen.[49] We have already encountered Finnur in the previous chapter, while discussing the provenance of B11108. Just as with B11108, B11109 was one of many Icelandic manuscripts that the British Museum purchased from Finnur in July 1837. Attest-

47. Kapitan, 'Dating Paper Manuscripts Based on Watermarks: A Case Study of Selected Nineteenth-Century Icelandic Manuscripts', 17–18.

48. This hand has been previously identified as the hand of Tómas Tómasson (1756–1811), a *hreppstjóri* from Stóra-Ásgeirsá in northern Iceland (for his biography see Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:18). Based on this criteria the manuscript was dated to 1770–1811, Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 102. Palaeographic analysis of hand 4 and its comparison with selected manuscripts certainly written by Tómas Tómasson (Lbs 1585 4to, Lbs 1846 4to, and Lbs 381 fol.) does not support this identification.

49. Bricka, *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XI:57–63.

ing to this, on the first front flyleaf of B11109, there is a note reading: 'Purch*as*ed of Prof*esso*r. | Finn Magnusen | July 1837.' On the second front flyleaf, there is the number '27' in the top right corner, which is the catalogue number of this manuscript in Finnur's catalogue. B11109 had to be one of the very few bound manuscripts in the collection, as it appears in the catalogue as a single item.[50] Furthermore, it is worth emphasising here that, according to Jón Helgason, the binding originates in Iceland, excluding the possibility that the binding of the manuscript was commissioned by Finnur in Copenhagen. Nothing is known about the history of ownership of B11109 before it was sold to the British Museum (and later transferred to the British Library along with other manuscript holdings of the museum).

Lbs 2404 8vo

Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in octavo, consisting of 182 leaves gathered in twenty-two quires: I^{8}–III_{8}, IV^{10}–V^{10}, VI^{8}– $XIII^{8}$, XIV^{10}, XV^{8}–$XXII^{8}$.

L2404 preserves eight texts in total, mostly short *konunga-* and *Íslendingaþættir*, but also some *Íslendingasögur*, *fornaldarsögur*, and *konungasögur*. The texts appear in the following order: *Hálfdanar saga gamla*, *19HsG* (ff. 61r–100v), *Sigurðar þáttur slefu*, *Grænlendinga þáttur*, *Hauks þáttur hábrókar*, *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*, *Skálda saga*, *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa*.

The manuscript can be divided into four codicological units or blocks. The first two texts, both *fornaldarsögur*, are written on separate series of quires: *Hálfdanar saga gamla* on quires I–VII and *19HsG* on quires VIII–XII. The remaining shorter narratives occupy the following two blocks: *Sigurðar þáttur slefu* and *Grænlendinga þáttur* together fill quires XIII–XIV, and the last four texts in the manuscript occupy quires XV–XXII.

50. AM 925 4to, a transcript of Finnur Magnússon's original 'Catalogus amplæ Manuscriptorum Collectionis, adhuc Hafniæ servatæ, jam inde Londinum Museo Britannico mittendæ, auctore Finn Magnuson (*sic*)' now in BL Add. 11251, Jón Helgason, 'Catalogue of the Icelandic Manuscripts in the British Library'.

In *Skrá*, L2404 is dated to ca. 1805,[51] but the material evidence suggests a slightly later dating. The fourth quire is made of watermarked paper with the mark 'Det Ørholmske Interessentskab', used on paper manufactured at the Ørholm paper mill in Denmark between 1805 and 1832..[52] This timespan generally confirms the dating proposed for L2404 in the catalogue, but elsewhere in the manuscript, the paper is dated with the watermark containing the date 1810, establishing a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript's writing.[53]

The manuscript is written entirely by Gísli Konráðsson (1787-1877), whom we have already encountered in the present chapter as one of the candidates for the authorship of *19HsG*. Manuscripts in Gísli's hand, though not highly decorated, were typically written with great care and precision, providing a pleasant aesthetic experience to their reader. L2404 is no exception.

There are various marginal notes in the manuscript, most of which seemto refer to the scribe's family members. On the pastedown, there is a note which reads 'Saugubók þessa á Eigill Gottskalsson (*sic*) á Völlnumm' (Egill Gottskálksson from Vellir owns this saga book). By the final words of *19HsG*, on f. 100v, in the outer margin, the name 'Gisli' is written vertically. On f. 182v, there are several scribbles: 'Jónas', 'Godur er Sá madur [segir] Bjarni Bjarnason', 'S[o]gur [á] Bókin*n*i á E.Gottskalksson', 'Guli á', 'Egilsson'.

All manuscripts with shelfmarks Lbs 2404 -2413 8vo were purchased by the Landsbókasafn in 1935 from Jónas Egilsson (1864-1942), and most of them likely previously belonged to his father, Egill Gottskálksson (1819-1887), and grandfather Gottskálk Egilsson (1783-1834) from Vellir.[54] It is important to recall that Jófríður Björnsdóttir, Gísli Konráðsson's mother, after the death of Gísli's father, Konráð Gíslason, in 1798, married Konráð's nephew, Gottskálk Egilsson from Vellir. It is his descendants whose names appear in the ownership notes.

51. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:339.

52. Fiskaa and Nordstrand, *Paper and Watermarks in Norway and Denmark*, 329, 405.

53. Kapitan, 'Dating Paper Manuscripts Based on Watermarks: A Case Study of Selected Nineteenth-Century Icelandic Manuscripts', 18–19.

54. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, III:339.

Lbs 1572 4to

Lbs 1572 4to (L1572), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of 145 leaves.[55] The manuscript is preserved unbound in a conservation box, with the leather cover detached from the loose quires, some of which are later additions. It consists of twenty-one quires: I^4, II^8 (wants 1), III^8–IV_8, V^{10}, VI^4–VII^4, $VIII^{10}$, IX: ^{10} (wants 10), X^6, XI^8, XII^4, $XIII_8$, XIV^6– XV^6, XVI_8–$XVII_8$, $XVIII^6$, XIX_8–XX_8, XXI^6.[56]

L1572 preserves thirty texts, mostly short tales about the legendary heroes and kings of Scandinavia, traditionally classified as *fornaldarsögur*, *konungasögur*, *þættir*, and historiographic texts. The manuscript begins with a table of contents (f. 1r–v) which is a later addition, and the following sagas: *Gautreks saga*, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Skálda saga*, *Áns saga bogsveigis*, *Friðþjófs saga*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, *Vermundar þáttur konungs*, *Af Upplendinga konungum*, *Ragnarssona þáttur*, *Brot af sögu Danakónganna Haraldar blátannar og Sveins tjúguskegg*, *Ormars þáttur Framarssonar*, *19HsG* (ff. 78v–92r), *Færeyinga saga*, *Hróa þáttur heimska*, *Sigurðar þáttur Akasonar*, *Tóka þáttur Tókasonar*, *Eymundar þáttur Hringssonar*, *Hemings þáttur Áslákssonar*, *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Rauðúlfs þáttur*, *Eiríks saga víðförla*, *Hálfs saga og Hálfsrekka*, *Gríms saga jarlssonar*, *Játvarðar saga helga*, *Egils saga einhenda og Ásmundar berserkjabana Hálfdanar saga Barkarsonar*, *Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns*, *Sörla þáttur*, and *Hana þáttur*.

The manuscript was written between 1815 and 1827, with the dating based on the dates of the colophons. *19HsG* is followed by a colophon dated to 1819.

The first gathering of the manuscript is most likely a later addition. The leaves are made of smooth paper and the text is written in a different hand than the majority of the manuscript. They contain a table of contents and the beginning of *Gautreks saga*. The same hand can be identified in the fifth quire, where the first three conjoint leaves are made of the same paper as most of the manuscript. The following two conjoint leaves, however, are made of the same paper as the first quire of the manuscript, also with a younger yet

55. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:552–553.
56. The structure of XXI is uncertain, probably 141, 142, 143+144, 145, 146.

unidentified hand. The manuscript previously belonged to Stefán Jónsson (1802–1890), a member of the Icelandic national assembly, who may have supplied the table of contents.[57]

The main part of the manuscript was written by Þorsteinn Gíslason from Stokkahlaðir, whom we already encountered as the scribe of the oldest manuscript of *Skáld-Helga saga*, Lbs 1316 8vo. Þorsteinn, a *hreppstjóri* and poet, was also a very active scribe,[58] with his hand found in at least fifty-five manuscripts in Landsbókasafn. Although there is no full signature in L1572, the initials Þ.G. on f. 46v, 122v, and 70v closely resemble his known signature in, for example, Lbs 1573 4to. The striking similarities in the layout and script type found in L1572 with Þorsteinn's other leave no doubt that L1572 was written by him.

Not much is known about the provenance and the history of ownership of this manuscript before it joined the Landsbókasafn. According to *Handrit.org*, the library acquired L1572 in 1911, along with other manuscripts previously owned by Stefán Jónsson. Today, they are catalogued under the shelfmarks Lbs 1567–1580 4to.[59]

Lbs 679 4to

Lbs 679 4to (L679), held in the Landsbókasafn Íslands in Reykjavík, is a paper manuscript in quarto, consisting of iii+111+iii leaves.[60] The volume is bound in a tight library binding, preventing safe

57. Two other manuscripts in Stefán's collection, Lbs 1573 4to and Lbs 1569 4to, also contain supplied tables of contents, which might be the owner's intervention. I did not have access to a sufficient sample of Stefán Jónsson's hand to determine this. Moreover, a comparison of the script on the title pages of Lbs 1573 4to and L1572 is inconclusive. The hands seem to differ remarkably in the ductus of many letters, but this requires further research. For an alternative explanation, see Lavender, 'Whatever Happened to *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*?: Origin, Transmission and Reception of a *Fornaldarsaga*', 103.

58. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:203.

59. This information is not included in the description of L1572, archived on 5/04/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240305110023/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-1567, but it can be found in the description of Lbs 1567 4to archived on 5/04/2024 at https://web.archive.org/web/20240305110023/https://handrit.is/manuscript/view/is/Lbs04-1567.

60. According to Páll Eggert Ólason, the manuscript consists of 122 leaves, Páll Eggert Ólason, *Skrá*, I:308.

examination of its quire structure. It is dated to around 1834, based on the sole colophon in this manuscript.

L679 preserves eight texts, all entertaining narratives of a legendary and chivalric nature, which are: *Huldar saga*, *Perus saga meistara*, *Galafreys saga*, *Sagan af Theodilo riddara og hans kvinnu*, *Drauma-Jóns saga*, *Konráðs saga keisarasonar*, *19HsG* (ff. 50r–70r), *Haralds saga Hveðrubana*. The text of *19HsG* is divided into chapters with individual headings, highlighting the most prominent episodes in the saga (all listed on p. 176).

On p. 221, there is a colophon stating the name of the scribe, date, and place of writing:

> og hafi þ*ei*r allir þöck sem hlijda og lesa en*n* sä aungva sem skrifad hefur lijgi þessa | skrifud ä Heidi og endud þan*n* 17 Januari 1834 | eptir ödru exemplari sem skrifad hafdi verid 1750 d 25 Arilis (*sic*) Testerar Þorst*einn* Þorst*eins*son.
>
> (All who listen or read shall have gratitude, but not the one who wrote these lies. Written at Heiði and completed on 17 January 1834, following another exemplar, which was written on 25 April 1750. Testifies Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson.)

The manuscript is written in humanistic cursive, in the hand of Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson. Þorsteinn was born in 1792 at Hamar in the Fljót area of Skagafjörður in northern Iceland, and died in 1863 on the island of Málmey in the same fjord.[61] He was the son of Þorsteinn Guðmundsson (1756–1832) and Kristbjörg Björnsdóttir (ca. 1760–1824).[62] Despite not receiving formal education, Þorsteinn's significant interest in books led to a substantial collection of manuscripts, many of which Þorsteinn copied himself.[63]

Probably due to his lack of formal education, Þorsteinn's scribal abilities were questioned by his contemporaries, who emphasised that his copies contained errors and omissions.[64] *19HsG* in L679 is no different in this regard, as will be discussed further in the sec-

61. Guðmundur Sigurður Jóhannsson, *Skagfirzkar æviskrár, tímabilið 1850–1890*, 295–296.

62. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, V:205.

63. For recent work on Þorsteinn's scribal network see Lansing, 'Manuscript Culture in 19th-Century Northern Iceland: The Case of Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson á Heiði'.

64. Driscoll, 'The Long and Winding Road: Manuscript Culture in Late Pre-Modern Iceland', 55.

tion devoted to the textual relationships. This shortcoming of Þorsteinn's scribal enterprise did not, however, prevent active collectors of his time from demonstrating a remarkable interest in his collection of manuscripts, as evidenced by Jón Árnason's correspondence. There, Þorsteinn's collection was discussed on multiple occasions.[65] Even though Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson cannot be considered a careful and accurate copyist, he seemed to care greatly about the provenance of the texts he copied. He frequently signed his manuscripts with his name and date of copying, as well as information regarding his exemplar.[66] Unfortunately, no commentary or colophon accompanies *19HsG*.

L679 belongs to a larger collection of manuscripts previously owned by Eggert Briem (1840–1893). Eggert Briem was a vicar from Höskuldsstaðir in Suður-Múlasýsla and the husband of Dómhildur Þorsteinsdóttir, the daughter of Þorsteinn Gíslason, whom we have already met as the scribe of L1572.[67] Eggert Briem's collection was acquired by the library on 8 May 1893, and his manuscripts today bear shelfmarks Lbs 659–744 4to, many of which are in Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson's hand. On f. 1r of L679, there is an addition in the upper margin that reads 'Nr. 21', which must be Briem's shelfmark, as similar notes in the same hand, can be found in other manuscripts in his collection.

Textual relationships

The variants appearing in the extant texts of *19HsG* illustrate the usual post-medieval Icelandic scribal production, which focused more on transmitting the story than delivering accurate transcripts. A notable example is at the saga's end, where the scribes of *19HsG* slightly modified the ending, changing the emphasis of the final remarks, see Table 4.2. Each scribe had a unique take on the ending. The most concise version is in L679, stating that Hrómundur and

65. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Úr fórum Jóns Árnasonar, sendibréf*, I:145, 162, 360, II:44.

66. A similar observation was made by McDonald Werronen and Kapitan regarding another manuscript written by Þorsteinn Þorsteinsson, Lbs 678 4to, in which he very carefully registered information regarding the exemplar he used, see: McDonald Werronen and Kapitan, 'An Edition of *Ambrósíus saga og Rósamunda* Based on BL Add. 24,969'.

67. Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar æviskrár*, I:316.

Svanhvít lived long and happily, had many children, some of whom died young, while others' descendants became heroes of other sagas. Notably, there's no mention of their sons, Björnólfur and Hróálfur, included in all other manuscripts.

L2404 provides additional information about the historical descendants of Hrómundur, listing his sons and connecting him with Ingólfur *landnámamaður*, the first settler of Iceland. The scribe of L2404 utilises information known from *Landnámabók* about Hrómundur's descendants to emphasise the importance of this family for the history of Iceland. The historiographical and genealogical interest of the scribe, Gísli Konráðsson, is not a new discovery. Gísli himself wrote the following in a letter to Jón Árnason:

> Ættartölur hefi eg svo margar saman tekið, að eg man ekki að telja þær, en það er Snókdalín mest að þakka, einkum hér vestra allt fram að Sturlungu, Sögunum og Landnámu.[68]
>
> (I have collected so many genealogical tables that I cannot even count them, but it is Snók[s]dalín that deserves the greatest gratitude, especially regarding the genealogies in the west, all the way back to Sturlunga, the sagas, and The Book of Settlement.)

Here, Gísli acknowledges the work of Ólafur Guðmundsson Snóksdalín (1761–1843), who compiled a substantial collection of genealogies, known simply as *Ættatölubók*.[69]

68. Finnur Sigmundsson, *Úr fórum Jóns Árnasonar, sendibréf*, II:80.
69. Snóksdalín, *Ættatölubók: Lbs 451-453 fol.*

Table 4.2: Comparison of the ending of *19HsG*

B11109	**L2404**	**L1572**	**L679**
t*ó*cost bráþt m*eþ* Hróm*undi* oc Svanh*vít* góþ*ar* ást*ir*, ólo þau bæþi syni o*c* dætr ⸌þeirra Synir Björnólfr oc Hróálfr⸍ o*c* e*ro* hér þ*ei*rra nǫfn ei ritot sýnist sva s*em* a*t* þau sum maníi b*a*rnæsko dái*t* h*a*f*a*, e*n* af sum*om* q*v*omo mi*c*il m*enni* s*em* í ǫþr*om* Sǫg*om* fráskýr*ir* Lúk*om* v*ær* sva þ*essa*ri Sǫgo af Hróm*undi* Greipssyni Hafi sá góþa þǫkk s*em* las, e*n* heiþr s*em* hlýþdo, e*n* h*ann* er skrifaþi lof o*c* vinfengi góþra m*anna*; e*n* all*ir* sameginl*e*ga tím*an*l*e*ga o*c* eilífa gleþi fyrir utan enda	Tókos*t* bráþt meþ Rómundi oc Svanhvit góþ*ar* ástir, þau átto bęþi Sono oc Dætr þo hér sé frá atgjörþom þ*ei*ra rítat, oc voru þau in mestu mikil men*ni* oc stórar ęttir frá þ*ei*m komnar þeira Synir vóru þeir Biörnólfur oc Hróalfr Biörnólfr v*ar* faþir Arnar f*aþir* Ingólfs landnámam*an*s, en*n* son Hróálfs var Harþmar faþir Hiörleifs er Hiörleifs höfþi er vit kendur Oc lýcor hér Saugo Hrómundar Greipsson*ar*	tókus*t* brátt m*ed* Hrom*undi* og Svanh*vit* gód*ar* ástir ólu þau bædi s*yni* og d*ætur* og e*ro* þ*ei*ra nófn h*ier* ei ritud (al: synir þ*ei*ra Biørnólfr og Hróálfr) sinis*t* so sem sum af þ*ei*m múni i barnæsku dáid h*a*f*a* e*n* af sumu*m* kómu mi*k*ilm*enni* s*em* i ödru*m* søgu*m* frá skírir, liúku*m* v*er* so þ*ess*ari søgu af hrómundi Greipssyni. þan*n* 23*da* Marti 1819.	tókust nú brátt *og* gódar ástir med þ*ei*m Hróm*undi* *og* Svanh*vit*, olu þau bædi sin*ne* *og* dætr, eru þ*ei*ra nófn hier eij greind, sijnist so sem, þaug hafi sum í barnæsko dáid, en*n* af sumu*m* komu mikil men*ni* sem í ódr*um* sogu*m* frä skijrir. Lijukum vier svo þessari Sógu af Hrómundi Greips sijne.

Meanwhile, L1572 does not contain an elaborate genealogy but includes the names of Hrómundur's and Svanhvít's sons as an addition, marked with an asterisk. The asterisk refers to a footnote with the names of Björnólfur and Hróalfur. This additional note also appears in B11109, but the asterisk is placed in a slightly different position (see Table 4.2). B11109 also appends a short formulaic comment at the end of the saga, in which the scribe expresses his personal gratitude to those who read or listened to his story. This comment is absent from the remaining manuscripts.

Every manuscript provides a slightly different text, and none of them could have served as an exemplar for the others. All of them include numerous individual readings, absent from the remaining manuscripts. Considering the variants registered in the variant apparatus of the edition, which includes some minor readings but is not exhaustive in this regard, B11109 preserves 89 individual readings, L1572: 295, L2404: 356, and L679: 988.

Among the individual readings of B11109, we find the following examples that exclude the possibility of this text serving as the exemplar for the remaining texts:

L679, L1572, L2404] B11109.

einn maður yðar] Armaður yðar.

keirir] reirir.

stærstu launum] stærstu gjöfum.

Among the individual readings of L1572, there are:

B11109, L679, L2404] L1572.

margir stólkongar] fylkis kongar.

Héðinn] Haki.

þat er Hraungviðr átti] ÷.

Among the individual readings of L2404, there are:

B11109, L679, L1572] L2404.

jómfrúr] meýar.

gjörninga] ÷.

er víkingar af vissu] þá víkingar verða þess varir þá.

And finally, among the individual readings of L679, we can find the following examples:

B11109, L2404, L1572] L679.

að hreysti og öllum frækleika] að öllum íþrottum og hreisti.

fjöldi af fólki or ýmsum áttum] fjöldi úr ýmsum löndum.

settist niður] ÷.

Even though L1572 and L2404 share more readings with B11109 than with L679, they cannot be descendants of B11109. This is because there are numerous examples where L1572 and L2404 agree with each other against the readings shared by B11109 and L679. This suggests that these two texts share a common ancestor. Among these readings are the following:

B11109, L679] L1572, L2404.

Vallaug hiet] + al. Gunnlöð móðir hennar (+var L2404) Brynhildur, dóttir Haka konungs í Skáney.

en óhróður niður leggjast] ÷.

piltkindin] ÷.

Based on the textual criteria, the known manuscripts of *19HsG* can be classified into two groups, represented as two separate branches of the stemma. L679 is placed alone on one side and B11109, L1572, and L2404 on the other, as illustrated in Figure 4.1. L2404 and L1572 are descendants of a common ancestor which is related to B11109, but which introduced readings exclusive to its two descendants.

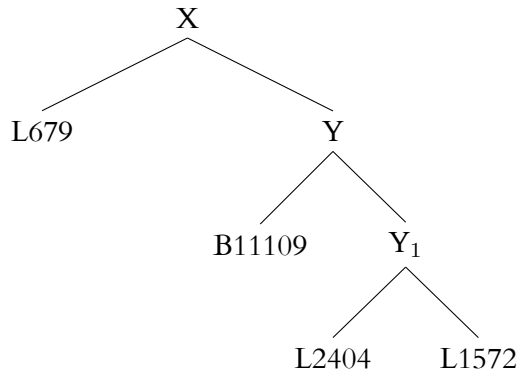

Figure 4.1: Stemma of *19HsG*.

The paratextual features of our saga, such as chapter headings, can be used to support conclusions drawn from textual variants. L679 is the only manuscript that preserves *19HsG* with chapter headings referring to the main events of the individual chapters. Notably, chapter ten lacks a descriptive heading and is introduced simply as '10di Capituli'. Elsewhere in the saga in this manuscript, the word for chapter (*kapituli*) is always abbreviated and starts with an initial 'k' rather than 'c'. Interestingly, B11109 and L1572 omit the number ten and present the saga with incorrect chapter numbering. Although the saga is divided into twenty-one chapters, the last chapter in these manuscripts is numbered twenty-two. It is possible this the numbering mistake was initially introduced in X, influencing the remaining manuscripts, but the scribes chose to address this issue in different ways.

Manuscript context

Even though the number of extant and known manuscripts preserving *19HsG* is quite low, there are some important observations to be made regarding the texts appearing together with *Hrómundar saga*. Texts of forty-seven different works appear alongside *19HsG*, but only seven of them appear more than once: *Hákonar þáttur Hárekssonar*, *Hauks þáttur hábrókar*, *Huldar saga hinnar miklu*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra Skálda saga*, *Styrbjarnar þáttur Svíakappa*, and *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra*. They all appear in two out of the four manuscripts.

At least two clear criteria can be used to group some of these texts: the geography of the events described in the saga and the time of the saga's creation. In terms of the geography of the events described by the narratives, the majority of the sagas frequently co-occurring with *19HsG* deal with events that take place in mainland Scandinavia before the settlement of Iceland. Although not all of them are traditionally classified as *fornaldarsögur*, they are adventure tales recounting the adventures of young Scandinavians, their travels abroad, and returns to their home countries. As such, the manuscript context of *19HsG* is not much different from that of *17HsG*. Regarding the time of composition, two of the sagas frequently co-occurring with *19HsG* are post-medieval adaptations of older material: *Huldar saga hinnar miklu* was written in the eight-

eenth century while *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra* was written in the early nineteenth century by Gísli Konráðsson (1787–1877). It is worth emphasising, that there are also some other younger sagas which appear with *19HsG* in individual manuscripts. These include, for example, *Gríms saga jarlssonar*, *Haralds saga Hveðrubana*, and *Hálfdanar saga gamla*, all relatively young adaptations of older materials.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study had one primary goal, as hinted at by the title of this book: to make the largely overlooked transmission and adaptation history of the lost saga of Hrómundur known to a broader audience. It aimed to shed light on its changing forms and the diverse literary contexts in which it appeared, as well as to reveal the scribal networks and different readership circles in which the story circulated until the nineteenth century. My hope is that I have successfully demonstrated that the medieval *Hrómundar saga* may well be lost, but the story of Hrómundur is certainly not forgotten. Like many other Icelandic sagas, *HsG* has remained alive and well in the literary fabric of Iceland for many centuries.

The first chapter discussed the historical context in which *17HsG* was produced. The focus was on the antiquarian interests of seventeenth-century Scandinavian scholars in stories dealing with the ancient past of the North, as presented in, among other sources, official documents like appointment letters. These sources shed light on the importance of Icelandic sagas for contemporary historical and antiquarian research. Using evidence from the extant correspondence of people like Þormóður Torfason and Árni Magnússon, I was able to demonstrate that the story of Hrómundur was subject of scholarly conversations, with copies of the saga being sought after, produced, and distributed relatively quickly.

Agreeing with previous scholarship regarding Jón Eggertsson's authorship of the saga, I proposed that *17HsG* is a prosification of the text of the *rímur* preserved in the lost manuscript *JE 27 4to, which Jón obtained during his collecting mission in Iceland. This interpretation explains previous contradictory interpretations of the relationship between the saga and the *rímur*, as it is indeed im-

possible to determine which extant manuscript of *Griplur* the saga is based on. I also highlighted the co-occurrence of *Bragða-Ölvis rímur* and saga together with the prose and verse adaptations of the story of Hrómundur in AM 601 b 4to and *JE 27 4to, suggesting that the sagas have a shared origin and came from Jón Eggertsson's pen. Further research into the *Bragða-Ölvis saga* tradition may reveal further connections.

Staying in the seventeenth century, Chapter Two focused on the oldest extant manuscripts preserving *17HsG*. Among them are not only the manuscripts discussed in previous scholarship but also some secondary manuscripts that gave us insight into the early dissemination of the saga. Variants from these texts were used in the edition. I analysed the textual relationships between the texts of *17HsG* in these manuscripts, confirming that AM 601 b 4to preserves the best text of the saga, which also is the archetype of the extant tradition. The textual relationships provided further evidence supporting some of the arguments made in Chapter One regarding the circulation of the saga among the scholarly elites of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, I discussed the manuscript context in which the saga appears, noting the co-occurrence of *Bragða-Ölvis saga* with *17HsG* in the majority of the oldest manuscripts. This indicates a close relationship between the two texts in the early stages of their respective transmission histories, which might be the result of their assumed common origins. These two texts appear together in four out of eight manuscripts, but two of these eight are today single-text codices.

Chapter Three turned towards the remaining manuscripts of *17HsG*, classifying them into three textual groups already distinguished in the previous chapter. The analysis of the transmission history of this saga, together with the material analysis of individual codices, provides countless examples of fascinating stories of Icelandic book production and circulation. For instance, some manuscripts in text-group A reveal that our saga, written in Copenhagen at the end of the seventeenth century, became especially popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in north-western Iceland, as the manuscripts originate mainly from Dalasýsla and Húnavatnssýsla. Among these manuscripts, we find examples providing insight into the global circulation of Icelandic manuscripts. Among them there is G 52/1, which made its way to

Canada and back to Iceland. While BL Add. 11108, containing various parts written at different points in time in distant places, including Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla and Vopnafjörður, ended up as a single codex owned by Finnur Magnússon in Copenhagen, who then sold it to the British Museum in London.

Similarly, Ms Germ qu. 27 (M27), written in Kvennabrekka in Dalasýsla, became part of the private collection of Christian Friedrich Rühs, a professor of history at the University of Berlin, and later joined the collections of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Rühs, interested in the early history of Scandinavia, compared the texts preserved in his manuscript with Björner's edition and considered the latter 'inaccurate' compared to the texts of M27. This provides an insight into the history of scholarship, raising questions about how often young manuscripts coming directly from Iceland were considered more reliable than early modern editions merely due to their origin. After all, we know that the text of *17HsG* in Björner's edition, based on Papp. fol. nr 67, is closer to AM 601 b 4to than the text of M27, which includes several changes that most likely arose over the course of more than a hundred years of the saga's transmission.

Multiple manuscripts contain marginal notes, which inform our understanding of the saga's readership. For instance, the evidence of extensive marginalia in Lbs 381 fol. demonstrates that *17HsG* was not exclusively treated as an entertaining narrative in Iceland, contrary to what is predominantly argued in scholarship about legendary and chivalric sagas. It illustrates that not only learned continental scholars but also Icelandic audiences were interested in the potential historical aspects of *fornaldarsögur*, especially genealogies. This is particularly interesting in the context of other sagas that frequently co-occur with *17HsG* in the younger manuscripts of text-group A. All of these sagas either deal with members of the same families or mention other characters known from other sagas also included in these volumes. As such, they bear testimony to the long-standing genealogical inclination of Icelandic readers, as also demonstrated by the manuscripts of *19HsG*, discussed in Chapter Four.

Meanwhile, some manuscripts in text-group B illustrate how handwritten books circulated in Icelandic families for several generations and that they likely served as exemplars for younger still ex-

tant manuscripts. The textual relationships between BL Add. 4859 (B4859), Lbs 633 fol. (L633) and AM 395 fol. (A395) provide insight into the circulation of books and scribal networks in early modern Iceland. B4859, written for Magnús Jónsson from Vigur, travelled within one family from Vigur to Víðidalstunga, where Magnús' daughter Þorbjörg lived with her husband, Páll Vídalín, and where it most likely served as an exemplar for L633, written for Lárus (Lauritz) Gottrup, who lived at that time at Þingeyrar, not far from Víðidalstunga. Then, L633, most likely written at Þingeyrar, made its way to Munaðarnes in Mýrasýsla, where Kár Ólafsson lived. Kár received L633 as a gift from Þorbjörn Bjarnason, who was the foster father of Kár's mother. While in Mýrasýsla, L633 served as an exemplar for A395, written at Akrar.

A similar situation is illustrated by examining the textual relationship between BL Add. 4875 (B4875) and Lbs 222 fol. (L222) and exploring the possible ownership history of L222. L222 was passed down the maternal line within the family of Magnús Jónsson from Vigur. L222, written in Sandar in Dýrafjörður probably for Magnús Jónsson, later most likely served as an exemplar for B4875. B4875 was probably written in Eyri in Skutulsfjörður by Eggert Hákonarson, Magnús Jónsson's great grandson.

The prominent role of Magnús Jónsson's family in the circulation of *17HsG* can also be linked to the appearance, or at least to the transmission, of the eighteenth-century version of the saga, *18HsG*. One of the two manuscripts preserving *18HsG*, JS 634 4to, was partially written by Markús Snæbjarnarson, Magnús Jónsson's grandson. While the exemplar of this manuscript is unknown, it is certain, based on textual criteria, that manuscripts of *18HsG* belong to text-group B. The other manuscript of *18HsG*, Lbs 840 4to, cannot be directly linked to Magnús, but it also has a well-documented history of ownership. The manuscript contains notes with the names of the great-grandchildren of its commissioner, Bjarni Pétursson, enabling us to track its history of ownership for three generations.

The appearance of *18HsG* allows us to ask questions about the reception of *17HsG* in Iceland in the early eighteenth century. *18HsG* appears to be an attempt to improve the saga stylistically by adding explanatory phrases that made the narration easier to follow. With its laconic and episodic style, perhaps *17HsG* was not a sat-

isfactory read for the eighteenth-century audience. If *17HsG* was indeed as a summary of the *rímur* composed with the scholarly audience of mainland Scandinavia in mind, then its intended audience was more interested in the content of the saga than its artistic form. In this context, *18HsG* can be viewed as an attempt to make it into an entertaining and coherent story intended for some lay Icelandic audiences. This would fulfil the objective of Lbs 840 4to, as suggested by the title page, 'for the entertainment of those who wish to read and hear'.

Another manuscript of *17HsG*, AM 395 fol., provides insight into the reception of Icelandic literature in Denmark. The saga classification, which appears in the table of contents of this manuscript, was most likely supplied after the volume was sold at auction in Copenhagen to the family of Danish scholars of Icelandic origin, Skúli Thorlacius and Birgir Thorlacius. The classification reflects the general scholarly atmosphere of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century when *fornaldarsögur* were still seen as a mixture of history and fiction. A similar approach can be found, for example, in Müller's *Sagabibliothek*.

The last part of Chapter Three discussed manuscripts that preserve *17HsG* whose text is derived from printed editions. An analysis of the variants appearing in these manuscripts showed differences in the treatment of the text. The manuscripts based on Rafn's edition, all written in Iceland, demonstrate in practice the fluidity of vernacular text transmission with free and intentional scribal intervention, sticking to the story but rephrasing and reformulating the wording. In contrast, the foreign copyists, transcribing Björner's edition, were very careful in their transcriptions, likely due to limited knowledge of Icelandic and/or the possible scholarly purpose of their transcription. There are also differences in content arrangement in the examined manuscripts. Those based on Björner's edition preserve the sagas in the same order as they appear in the edition and mainly stick to the texts available in the edition. Meanwhile, the order of the texts in the manuscripts based on Rafn's edition appears more customised. The texts do not appear in the order of the edition, and the manuscripts contain a broad variety of other sagas. Thus, we can conclude that for Icelandic copyists, the printed text served as yet another exemplar and was treated in the same manner as texts transcribed from other manuscripts.

Finally, Chapter Four turned towards the transmission history of *19HsG*. It discussed its possible origins, placing them in northern Iceland within the learned circles of people such as Gísli Konráðsson and Jón Espólín. The textual analysis of the texts preserved in all known manuscripts of the saga suggests that they are all derived from a lost common ancestor. The ending of the saga in each of the manuscripts demonstrates the personal touch of the scribes. This is especially clear in Lbs 2404 8vo, where its scribe, Gísli Konráðsson, who was personally very interested in Icelandic genealogies, added information from *Landnámabók* about Hrómundur's descendants, thereby linking *19HsG* to Icelandic historiography.

Furthermore, this chapter briefly outlined the relationship of *19HsG* to other adaptations within the *HsG* tradition demonstrating that the author of this work drew freely from both *Griplur* and *17HsG*. Additionally, I discussed select literary motifs typically seen in romances that feature prominently in *19HsG*, despite some of them being absent from *17HsG* and *Griplur*. Among them are supernatural elements, such as the appearance of a flying dragon in the narrative, or the changing of Hrómundur's appearance with the use of a magic stone.

The analysis of the manuscript context of *19HsG* revealed that it frequently co-occurs with other sagas dealing with the adventures of legendary Scandinavian heroes, but especially with those composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as *Þorsteins saga Geirnefjufóstra* and *Huldar saga hinnar miklu*. It seems that the sagas written at a similar time were transmitted together, presumably due to their similarity in style and/or overall aesthetics. There is, however, a great need for further research into the subject of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sagas in general, in order to gain a better understanding of the circumstances of their creation and transmission as well as their position in the wider context of Icelandic literature.

While the discovery of the new saga of Hrómundur was certainly the most rewarding and easiest to demonstrate among my findings, other tangible results of my research are scattered across the pages of this book. These include establishing relationships among the texts of *HsG*, identifying scribes, narrowing down the often very broad dating of some manuscripts, and revealing the history of ownership and readership of the saga. Instead of attempting

to draw broad overarching conclusions from this study or claiming their transformative potential for the state of scholarship on Old Norse-Icelandic literature, I have highlighted here some of the findings that seemed most intriguing to me and, hopefully, are also interesting to you, dear reader. My hope is that at least some of these findings will inspire further explorations into the transmission of Icelandic sagas, also, or especially, of those composed in the early modern period.

Part II

Text Editions

Editorial principles

The texts included in this edition are represented on a diplomatic level and follow the orthography of the base manuscripts as closely as possible, with only a few exceptions. The long s 'ſ' has been changed to 's', and the ligature 'ß' to 'ss'. In *17HsG*, the scribe of A601 uses the small capital 'n', 'g', and 'r', as well as an 'l' with a broken ascender to denote double consonants; in the edition, they are silently represented as 'nn', 'gg', 'rr', and 'll'. Ligatures such as 'au', 'sk', and 'om' are represented as separate letters and not indicated in any special way in the edition. The rounded r 'ꝛ', used mainly in A601, has been changed to 'r' and expanded as 'ur' when it appears as a superscript character. In *18HsG*, the scribe of J634 does not seem to be very consistent in their use of 'ij', 'ý', and 'y', or 'w' and 'v'. The edition attempts to represent these as reliably as possible, while recognising the limitations of this approach, which might lead to some inconsistencies. The same holds true for different forms of 'ö' (ó, ø, o̜) in *19HsG*, where the scribe of BL Add. 11109 (B11109) seems to be freely choosing between them. A similar case is with the diacritics appearing above 'u', which sometimes denote 'ú' and other times appear to simply distinguish 'u' from 'n'. Finally, punctuation and capitalisation follow the base-text manuscript.

In the printed text, the editorial expansions are indicated in italics, regardless of whether they expand suspension, contraction, or special characters, such as the Tironian nota used for 'og' in A601 and J634, or the M-rune used to abbreviate 'maður' in A601. The expanded forms follow the written-out examples whenever possible; otherwise, they are an approximation based on the orthography of words with similar morphology. There are several cases of supplied characters when it is clear that a certain character has

been omitted. The supplied text is always marked within insertion brackets ⟨*⟩. Unclear readings are marked with square brackets [*]. Additions are marked with insertion marks ⸢*⸣ and deletions with deletion marks ⟊*⟊.

The variant apparatus includes both major and minor variants. This does not mean, however, that all these readings have text-critical value and were used to build the stemma of this tradition. The relationships among texts were established in the first place exclusively based on the major variants, while minor variants were taken into consideration only when relationships between closely related texts called for further analysis, such as A587 and A193. Minor variants in the apparatus are included to illustrate the scale of variation appearing in the tradition, but the main goal of the apparatus is to reliably represent exclusively the lexical variants. Generally, it ignores orthographic variants, but in some instances where the orthographic difference might carry some potentially interesting linguistic information, these variants are included, for example, the use of "of" for "um" in *19HsG*. The list of such variants is subjective and cannot be considered exhaustive. The registered omissions are marked with '÷'.

The main goal of the variant apparatus provided in this edition is to illustrate the relationships between the extant manuscripts by presenting their shared readings. It does not aim to present an exhaustive overview of all occurrences of minor variants in individual manuscripts. While there are multiple instances where individual readings of a single manuscript have been registered to give the reader an impression of the different types of variants introduced in individual manuscripts, they do not form an exhaustive list. This is especially true in the case of *19HsG*, in which the extent of minor variation is very large and Lbs 679 4to (L679) frequently diverges from the remaining three manuscripts in terms of grammatical endings (case, number, and definite and indefinite forms of nouns and adjectives) as well as the use of function words. In the same way, I treat obvious minor scribal errors occurring in individual manuscripts, for example, when a nasal stroke is missing in one manuscript without obscuring the meaning of the word, this variation is not registered. The rationale for that is not only the economy of time and resources but also the assumption that these types of variation are of little use in determining relationships between texts

in the future, when potentially some new manuscripts of the saga are discovered.

The lemmas in the variant apparatus are presented in the orthography of the base text with expansions of abbreviations marked in italics. With the exception of the eighteenth-century version, where the variants are from a single manuscript, the readings presented in the variant apparatus do not attempt to follow closely the orthography of each witness, and the abbreviations are expanded silently. The readings that are different only on the orthographic level are grouped together and represented in the approximated orthography, which follows that used in the first witness registered.

The digital editions are encoded according to the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative and use standard elements for the apparatus, as well as for unclear, deleted, and supplied passages and characters.[70]

70. TEI Consortium, *TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Inter-change. 4.0.0*. Supplementary materials, including the XML files, are available at http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-449zgmvdx

The seventeenth-century saga

Manuscripts used for this edition:

- AM 601 b 4to (A601) – base text
- AM 193 e fol. (A193)
- AM 345 4to (A345)
- AM 587 b 4to (A587)
- BL Add 4859 (B4859)
- Lbs 222 fol. (L222)
- Papp. Fol. nr 67 (P67)
- Thott 1768 4to (T1768)

The digital version of this edition with images of A601 can be found online: https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar_A601/.

Saga af Hrómu⟨n⟩de Greipszýne

Cäp*ituli* .I.

1r

⟨S⟩á[1] k*on*gr rieþe f*yrir* ┤Gordom├ ᛚᛁᛚ ᛚdanm*orc*├[2] er Olafr h*iet*,[3] h*ann* v*ar* s*onr* Gnóþar Asmund*ar*, h*ann* var frǫgr *maþr*.[4] Brǫþr .ij. kári oc ørnulfr, v*oru* l*and*v*arn**ar* m*enn* k*on*gz, herm*enn* mikl*er*. Þar Bió e*irn* rýk*ur* Boandi, sá hiet Greýpr. h*ann* átte þá *kon*o, e*r* Gunnlǫþ h*iet*, dótt*er* Hrókz hinz su*arta*, Þau átto .ix. sono e*r* sva h*ieto*. Hrólfr, Hake, Gautr⟨,⟩ Þrǫstr, Angantýr, Logi, Hrómundr. Helge. Hrókr. Þ*eir* v*oru* all*er* efnile*ger* m*enn*. Þo v*ar* Hrómundr f*yrir* þ*eim* aullom. h*ann* kunni e*igi* at hrǫdast, h*ann* v*ar* augna fagr, hárbi*artr*, oc her*þ*amikill, mikill oc ster*cr*, lýkt*iz* miǫc Hróki móþr fauþr sýnom. M*ed* k*on*gi v*oru* .ij. m*enn*, h*iet* e*irn* Býld*ur*, ann*ar* voli, Þ*eir* v*oru* Ill*er* oc und*er*fǫrul*er*. k*on*gr matti Þá mikils. Eytt sinn hiellt olafr k*on*gr, austur[5] f*yrir* noreg m*ed* h*er* sinn, oc hielldo aþ Vlfaskerium, h*er*ioþo, oc lau viþ eitt Eýl*an*d. K*on*gr býþr Kára oc Ørnulfi aþ g*an*ga uppá Eýuna, oc vita, hu*ort* þ*eir* sæe einginn h*er*skip. Þ*eir* g*en*gu uppá l*and**iþ*, oc litu .vj. h*er*skip und*er* hǫm*rum* n*ocrum*. Þ*ar* v*ar* e*irn* dr*e*ke allskrautl*i*gr. Kári kallar til þ*eir*a, oc spir hu*orier* f*yrir* skiponom rieþi, Eirn dólgr stóþ uppá d*re*kanom, oc q*v*adz Hraungviþr heita. e*þr* hu*ort* e*r* nafn þitt. Kari sagþi til sýn oc sýnz broþurz. oc m*ælti*. Eg veit aungvann verri enn þik, oc þar f*yrir* s*ka*l ek hauggva þ*ic* i smá sticki, Hraungviþr. m*ælti*: Ek h*efi*

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2 rieþe] red T1768. 2 ᛚᛁᛚ ᛚdanm*orc*├] ÷ T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 3 Asmund*ar*] + d. A587, A193. 3 frǫgr *maþr*] maþr frægr A587, A193. 5 sá hiet Greýpr] er Greypur hiet A345. 9 e*igi*] ei A193, P67, L222. 13 k*on*gr] ÷ A345. 13 austur] norþr A345, vestur P67. 15 sæe] sæo, A345, B4859. 15 einginn] eingi A587, engi A193, T1768, A345, L222, B4859. 16 h*er*skip] skip A345, L222, B4859. 17 spir] + efter P67. 18 hu*orier*] hver A587, A193, hvorir T1768, hvor A345, P67, L222, huerier B4859. 21 s*ka*l] vil P67. 21 Hraungviþr. m*ælti*] Þä mællte Hraungvidur P67. 21 h*efi*] hefer A345, L222, B4859.

1. In A601, there is a blank space left for a three-lines-tall initial, here supplied as the word-initial 's'.

2. A345, L222 and B4859 have a marginal note 'aliis Danmork', trimmed in L222 with only final letters visible.

3. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined text about King Ólafur.

4. In A601, the M-rune is used to abbreviate *maður*.

5. In P67, 'austur' is corrected into 'vestur', most likely by a younger hand.

heriaþ sum*ar* oc vetr, i xxxiij ár, oc háþ lx o*rustur*, oc feing*iþ* Jafnan sigr. Mitt suerþ h*eiter* Brinþu*are*, e*r* alld*ri* he*fr* sliófgast. komdo hi*er* á m*or*gun kári, ek s*kal* sliþra h*ann* i þino br*i*osti. kári q*v*adz e*igi* bila m*vn*þi, Hraungviþ*ur* mátti kiósa hu*orn* d*ag* m*ann* f*yrir* suerþinz oddi. Þ*ei*r brǫþr komo aftr til k*on*gz, oc sǫgþu[6] h*onu*m týþinþ*in*. k*on*gr bauþ aþ hallda t*il* o*rustu* oc sva v*ar* gi*ort*. hittust þ*ei*r, oc to*cz* þar harþr Bard*a*gi. Þ*ei*r brǫþr g*en*go vel fr*a*m, kári
1v hafþi Jafnann viij ‖ Eþr tólf i Eýno hǫggi. Hraungviþr sá þ*e*tta, lióp uppá k*on*gs skip, til kára ok lagþi suerþino i gegnom h*ann*. Þegar kari hafþi feng*iþ* sáriþ, s*agde* h*ann* til k*on*gz, lif*ed*[7] heil*er* he*rr*a, Ek man hiá óþni gista. Hraung*viþr* vó Ørnulf upp á spióti sýno. Ept*er* fall þ*ei*ra brǫþ*ra* kall*ar* Hraungv*iþr* aþ þ*ei*r s*kul*e uppg*e*fast. Er þá Jllr kur i liþi k*on*gz. Einginn Járn bito Hraungv*iþ*[8] Nu e*r* þ*ess* g*e*tiþ aþ Hrómundr Greips*son* v*ar* i filgd m*ed* k*on*gi h*ann* tekr si*er* kilfu i hǫnd. Bindr sier grátt oc sýtt geýt*ar*skiegg. oc setr sýþann hatt ä haufuþ sier. veþr s*va* fr*a*m, oc finnr þá brǫþr baþa dauþa. tekr upp m*er*ki k*ong*z. oc lemr m*ed* kilfunni blám*enn* til dauþa. Hraungv*idr* spir hu*or* sá væ*ri*. e*þa* e*r* þ*e*tta nockuþ faþ*er* h*anz* Jlla kára. Hromundr.[9] sagþi nafn sitt. oc q*v*edz hefna vilia þ*ei*ra brǫdra, enn e*igi* v*ar* kári mi*er* skilldr. samt s*kal* ec drepa þik. oc i þui gaf h*ann* Hraungv*iþi* kilfu hǫgg, sva mic*iþ*. aþ h*ann* bar hallt hauf*ut* ept*er*, oc mællti. ek he*fi* v*eriþ* výþa i Bard*au*gu*m*, oc alld*ri* feing*iþ*

22 oc] + hefi L222. 22 feng*iþ* Jafnan] jafnan fengid T1768, jafnan B4859. 23 sliófgast] sliofast P67. 23 komdo] kondu A587, T1768, kom þú A193, A345, L222, B4859. 24 ek] oc A345. 24 s*kal*] + ec A345. 25 m*vn*þi] munda P67, mundu B4859. 25 m*ann*] ÷ A345. 26 suerþinz oddi] odde suerdsins P67. 26 sǫgþu] segia A193. 29 tólf] + menn L222. 29 Eýno] hveriu A587, A193, B4859, hvoriu A345. 29 Hraungviþr sá þ*e*tta] Þetta sá Hraungvidur og P67. 29 lióp] + hann A587, A193. 30 skip] skipid P67. 31 hafþi] + nu P67. 31 s*agde*] mælir B4859. 31 heil*er*] heill L222. 32 óþni] odin A345, B4859. 32 vó] + og P67. 33 þá] nú A345. 34 Einginn] engi A587, A193, A345, L222, B4859. 35 v*ar*] er A193. 35 tekr] tok A345. 36 geýt*ar*skiegg] geijtaskegg P67. 38 m*ed* kilfunni blám*enn* til dauþa] til dauda Blämenn med kilfunne P67. 39 h*anz*] hins B4859. 41 enn] og P67. 41 i] ÷ A193. 41 þui] ÷ A587, A193. 42 hauf*ut*] haufuþiþ A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 43 he*fi*] hefir A345, L222, B4859.

6. The word is abbreviated in A587, it could be expanded as *sögðu* or *segja*.

7. In A601, the abbreviation mark 'er-curl' usually stands for 'er' or 'ir', but here it is expanded as 'ed', following all the other manuscripts.

8. The colon in A601 is treated as an abbreviation mark, not punctuation.

9. In B4859, 'Hraungvidr' is corrected into 'Hromundr'.

þuilýct haugg, annaþ haugg sló Hrom*und*ur[10] til Hraungvidz, sva
hausinn brotnaþi. J þriþia hǫggi misti h*ann* lýfi*þ*, Ept*er* þ*ad* ge*n*gu
þ*ei*r se*m* Eft*er* lifþo, all*er* á hendr k*on*gi, oc liktaþ*iz* so b*ard*ag*e*nn.

Cäp*ituli* .ij.

Nu kann*ar* Hrómundr skipinn, oc finnr e*ir*n m*ann*, hallast upp
v*iþ* J stafni, h*ann* spir þ*ann* m*ann* aþ nafni, Sá q*v*edst Helgi heite
hinn frǫkni, Broþer[11] Hraungzvidz, oc nenni ek e*igi* friþar aþ biþia.
Hrom*und*r l*ie*t græþa helga hinn frækna, h*ann* siglþi þar ept*er* i
Suýþioþ,[12] oc gi*or*þist þar l*an*dv*ar*n*armaþr*. Þar Ept*er* hiellt olaf*ur*
k*on*gr liþi sýno ve*s*tr[13] t*il* súþr Eýgia, geingo þ*ar* á l*an*d, oc tóco
strandhǫgg. Kall e*ir*n bió þar næri, k*on*gz m*enn* haufþo tek*iþ* kýr
h*anz* oc ráku undann si*er*. liet h*ann* mieg aumli*g*a um*m* þ*a*m misz*er*
Hromundr k*ie*mr aþ, oc spir hu*or* sá væ*ri*. kallinn s*agþi* aþ bigþ
sýn væ*ri* allskamt þ*ad*ann, oc q*v*ad meiri fr*e*md, aþ brióta hauga, oc
ræna drauga fie helldr enn ræna kotkalla. þ*ess*i q⟨va⟩dz máni [14] aþ
nafni. Hrom*und*r baþ h*a*m seigia sie*r*, ef h*ann* visssi[15] nockud um*m*
soddann. Mani s*agdiz*[16] výst ‖ vita oc m*ælti* Þráinn[17] s*e*m vann Val- 2r
land,[18] oc v*ar* þ*ar* k*on*gr, B*er*serkr m*ic*ill oc st*er*kr, oc fullr galldra.
H*a*nn var s⟨e⟩ttr J haug, m*ed* suerde, h*er*klæþ*om* oc fie miklo. Enn

44 þuilýct] jafnmikiþ P67. 45 brotnaþi.] + og P67. 45 Ept*er* þ*ad*] Sijþann P67. 2 q*v*edst] + heita P67. 2 heite] heita A587, A193, T1768, A345, L222, B4859, ÷ P67. 4 frækna] + Þar epte⟨r⟩ P67. 4 h*ann* siglþi] siglde hann P67. 4 þar ept*er*] ÷ P67. 4 i] til P67. 5 Suýþioþ] Suijþiöþar P67. 5 þar] ÷ A587, A193. 9 aþ] afftr T1768. 11 fie] ÷ L222. 11 helldr enn ræna kotkalla.] ÷ A587, A193. 14 oc] ÷ A587, A193, L222, B4859. 14 fullr galldra] ÷ L222. 15 suerde] + og A345, L222, B4859.

10. In A601, the scribe started to write ‘Hraungviður’, but corrected it.

11. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined sentence in lines 19 and 20.

12. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined text, ‘Svíþjóð’.

13. In A601 ‘austur’ is corrected to ‘vestur’.

14. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined name, ‘Máni’.

15. The scribe of A601 wrote ‘vissi’ with a long s ‘ſ’ followed by ‘ß’, here transcribed as three ‘s’s.

16. A601 has only one long ‘s’ followed by a colon, which would usually be expanded as ‘segir’ or ‘sagði’. All other manuscripts, however, preserve the reading ‘sagðist’, therefore it was chosen as an expansion here. It is expanded with the medio passive ‘z-ending’, which follows the orthography of A601.

17. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined name, ‘Þráinn’. The word-initial ‘þ’ is enlarged and pen-flourished.

18. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined name, ‘Valland’.

fáer fýsast þángaþ. Hrómund⟨r⟩ spir, huorra leid sigla skal þángat, kall sagþi aþ hann má sigla rett sudur, i .vj. daga. Hromundr þackar kalli fregn þessa, gaf honum fe, oc liet hann taka kýr sýnar. Siglþo þeir suo þadann eptер þui sem, kall výsaþi þeim til, oc aþ .vi. daga fresti sau þeir hauginn riett fyrir framm̃stafni. Þeir komo vestann aþ Val-landi, oc fundu hauginn, oc rufu þegar, oc aþ liþnum .iv. daugom, komo þeir glugga á hauginn. Sau þeir aþ þar sat á stóli dolgor mikill blár oc digur, allr gulli klæddur, so leiptraþi af. rumdi hann miǫc oc Bles aþ elldi. Hrómundr spir, huor nu vill ganga i hauginn, oc sá skule kiósa sier .iij. gripe. Voli qvad Einginn mvnþi vilia giefa lýf sitt viþ þui, ero hier nu lx. manna, oc man troll þetta ǫllum dauþa veita, Hromundr mælti vogaþ mvndi kári hafa þetta, ef lifz væri, oc qvad maklegt þó sier væri niþur slept i Feste, þo betra sie aþ fást viþ viij aþra. For sva Hrómundr niþr i festenne. var þad á nótto, oc er hann kom niþr. Bar hann saman fe miciþ oc batt i festarenda. Þráinn hafþi veriþ á firri daugom kongr Jfer Vallandi, oc vann allt med ǀøllum gǫlldrum. giorþi margt Jllt af sier, oc þá hann var sva gamall aþ hann kunni eigi aþ strýþa, lengr, liet hann setia sic lifanþi J hauginn oc miciþ fe med sier. Nu sier Hromundr huar suerþiþ[19] hanger uppi á Eirnri svlú, hann kipper þui ofan girþiz med, oc geingur framaþ stolnum oc mælti mier man vera mál or haugnom first einginn hamlar, eþr huorninn vegnar þier, þu hierna hinn gamli. Sástu eigi aþ ek bar saman fe þitt. Enn þu hauktер kirr, hundr leýþr, eþa huaþ var þier i augom. Er þu horfþer á, aþ ec tóc suerþiþ oc meniþ, oc fiǫlda þinna annara gripa. Þráinn qvad sier einskis umm vert þikia ef hann liete sic sitia kirrann á stóli synom. Ek

16 fýsast] fyzuz B4859. 17 kall] hann A587, A193. 17 i] ÷ B4859. 18 fregn] frä A345, L222, B4859. 18 þessa] söguna A345, L222, saugu og B4859. 18 honum] + mikit B4859. 19 til] ÷ A345. 20 sau] siä P67. 20 framm̃stafni] stafne fram A345. 21 oc] ÷ P67. 21 .iv.] sex A587, A193, T1768. 24 nu] ÷ L222. 24 ganga] + inn P67. 25 Einginn] engi A587, A193, A345, L222, B4859. 26 ero] er P67. 27 ǫllum] + þeim P67. 27 þetta] ÷ T1768. 28 þó] að A345, L222, B4859. 30 batt] bar B4859. 32 gǫlldrum] + og P67. 32 giorþi] + hann L222. 32 af] ÷ *damaged* L222. 33 eigi] ei A345, P67, L222. 35 suerþiþ] sverd A345, P67, B4859, L222. 35 uppi] upp P67, B4859. 35 girþiz] + sig T1768. 36 man] maa A345. 36 vera mál] mäl vera L222. 36–37 or haugnom] aþ hauggva P67. 37 einginn] engi A587, A193, A345, B4859. 38 eigi] ei P67, L222. 40–41 einskis] einkis A587, A193, P67, B4859. 41 umm vert] vert um T1768. 41 sitia kirrann] kyrran sitia A587, A193.

19. In L222, the word appears on the line break on a damaged leaf, therefore the form could have been with the definite article.

kunni áþr firr aþ beriast, e*r* þá ordinn nógo ragr ef þu e*ir*n s*ka*lt ræna
m*ic* auþi, oc vil || ek sinia þi*er* gripanna, máttu siá v*iþ* mi*er* Dauþom. 2v
Þa mæl*ti* Hro*mundr* Rigaþo þi*er* á fætr Rag*ur* ok blauþr, oc takþu
suerþ*iþ* aptr af mi*er* ef þu þor*er*. Draug*ur*[20] mæl*ti* Þ*ad* e*r* einginn
fr*e*md aþ b*e*ra su*er*þ[21] á m*ic*, vapnlausann, helldr vil ec reina afl v*iþ*
þik oc glýmo. Hromund⟨r⟩ kast*ar* þá suerþino, oc treiste afli sýno.
Þráinn sá þ*et*ta, oc leiste ofann ketil sinn e*r* hafþi uppi. h*ann* v*ar* þá
e*i*gi frýnl*e*gr blies þá aþ elldi e*r* h*ann* v*ar* bvinn aþ eta ur katlinom.
Funi mikill v*ar* J millom fóta h*an*z. enn ketellenn fullr af bvkom.
H*ann* v*ar* i stacki gullfáguþom, Báþ*ar* hendr h*an*z v*or*u breinglaþ*ar*,
oc beigþust neglr f*yrir* goma. Hrom*un*d*r* m*æl*t*i* skrýtto af stóli skálkr
argr. suiptr aulu[22] fie. Þá s*agde* draugr: nu man mál v*e*ra aþ fara á
fætr. first þu frýar mi*er* hug*ar*. d*a*g lýþr, enn kuelldar, oc gi̧rist
þá mirkt i haugn*om*. H*a*m̄n g*e*c þá til glýmo v*iþ* Hromund, enn
kastaþi niþr katli Sýnum. Neitte þa Hróm*undr* aflz oc so geingust
þ*ei*r hart aþ, aþ griót oc stockar gengo upp. þa datt draugrinn á an-
naþ knie, oc m*æl*t*i* þu stiak*ar* mi*er*, oc výst e*r*tu hraustr. Hrom*undr*
s*agþi* Stattu studningzlaust á fæt*ur* aftr, miklu e*r*tu linari enn Máni
kall sagþi. Þá toc þrainn aþ trillast, oc filltist upp haug*u*rinn m*ed*
Jllann daun, setti h*ann* þá klær sýn*ar* á hnacka hrom*undi* oc sleit
holld af beinom a lendar ofan*n* oc mæl*ti* kuarta e*igi* um*m* þo gráni

45 af mi*er*] ÷ T1768. 45 einginn] engi A193, A345, B4859. 47 oc] ÷ B4859. 47 glýmo] glijma P67. 48 e*r*] + hann A345, P67, L222, B4859. 49 e*i*gi] ecke P67. 49 e*r*] ÷ *damaged* L222. 50 Funi] + var A345. 50 v*ar*] ÷ A345. 50 millom] milli A587, A193, T1768, mid[0]e L222. 50 h*an*z] honum A587, A193. 50 af bvkom] i buki A587, A193. 53 s*agde*] svarar A345, P67, L222, B4859. 53 draugr] draugurenn P67, B4859. 53 v*e*ra] ÷ T1768. 54 d*a*g] dagur A587, A193, T1768, A345, B4859, daguren P67, ÷ *damaged* L222. 54 enn] oc L222. 54 gi̧rist] gerþiz A587, A193, giordist T1768. 55 enn] og P67, T1768. 56 þa] ÷ A193. 57 stockar] steinar A587, A193. 57 gengo] gengost T1768. 57 datt] fiell P67. 57 draugrinn] Draugr L222. 58 hraustr] + madr A587, A193. 59 s*agþi*] mælte P67, T1768, svarar L222, B4859. 62 holld] holldid P67. 62 a lendar ofan*n*] ÷ T1768. 62 e*igi*] ei P67. 62 um*m*] ÷ *damaged* L222. 62 þo] þott B4859.

20. If the colon at the end of the word functions as an abbreviation, it could be expanded as 'draugurinn', the form without the article chosen to agree with the majority of the manuscripts.

21. In B4859, 'sverd' is added to replace 'uapn', which was initially written in this place.

22. The scribe wrote 'öllu' with an 'au'-ligature followed by a single 'l', not by the 'broken l', which is usually used in this manuscript to denote doubling of the letter.

leýkurinn, oc sárni kropp*ur* þinn. þui nu s*ka*l ek rýfa þic kuikann
J sunþr Ei*gi* veit eg[23] sagþi Hrom*undr* hu*aþ*ann soddann katt*ar*kin,
e*r* kom*iþ* J haug þe*m*nann. Draug*ur*inn m*æl*t*i* þu munt fæddr v*er*a af
Gunnloþ, e*ro* f*áer* þijn*er* lýk*ar*. Jllt man v*er*a s*agþi* Hr*omundr* aþ þu
klor*er* m*ic* leinge, glýmdo þ*ei*r hart oc leingi, so allt skalf þ*ad* n*æri*
v*ar*, þ*ar* til um sýþer, aþ Hrom*undr* felldi h*ann* á fót*ar*bragþi. Þá v*ar*
ord*iþ* miǫk dimt. Þá m*æl*t*i* draugr: Nu vanstu m*ic* m*ed* ráþom, oc
tocst suerþ mitt. þ*ad* scipte m*ed* ockr, leikum, leingi h*e*fi ek lifaþ i
3r haugill mýnom, oc lafaþ á fe, Enn e*igi* e*r* gott aþ t*ru*a gripum sýnom
þó góþ*er* þike[24], of miǫk. oc alldri h*e*fi ek ætlaþ, aþ Þu mistilteinn,
mitt góda suerþ, mund*er* verþa mi*er* til meins.[25] varþ Hrom*undr*
þá laus. oc náþi su*er*þino, ok m*æl*t*i* Herm mi*er* nu. hu*aþ* marga
m*enn* i Hólmgaungo, Þu vanst m*ed* mistilteini. hundraþ ⟨xxiv⟩
[26]q*v*ad draugrinn. oc f*ec* ec allþri skeino. Semingur k*on*gr er v*ar*
J Suýþióþ[27] oc ek, reindom ockar Jþrótt*er* oc hugþi h*ann* ec m*vn*þi
seint unninn v*er*þa. leinge h*e*fr þu s*agþi* hrom*undr* v*er*iþ m*aunnum*
til meinz[28], oc mun þ*ad* happav*er*k, aþ láta þik s*em* first deýgia, hió
h*ann* sua haufiþ af draugnum, oc brendi h*ann* upp allann á Bále, for
so ur haugnu*m*. spurþu m*enn* þá, hu*or*ninn Þráinn oc h*ann* hefþo
skiliþ, h*an*n q⟨va⟩d þ*ad* hafa geingiþ i kiǫr þui ek hió af h*onu*m

64 Ei*gi* veit eg] Eg veit eigi A345, L222, B4859. 64 soddann] ÷ T1768. 64 katt*ar*kin] katta kyn B4859. 65 Draug*ur*inn] draugr L222. 65 fæddr v*er*a] vera fæddur A345, fæddr B4859. 66 Gunnloþ] Svylaud og A345, L222, B4859. 67 þ*ei*r] + þä P67. 68 v*ar*] ÷ *damaged* L222. 68 aþ] ÷ P67. 69 dimt] mirkt P67. 69 draugr] draugurenn P67. 69 oc] ÷ *damaged* L222. 70 lifaþ] ÷ *damaged* L222. 71 haugill mýnom] mijnum haug P67. 71 e*igi*] ei P67. 71 t*ru*a] treijsta P67, tr[0]sta *damaged* L222. 72 þó góþ*er* þike] ÷ P67, L222. 72 miǫk] + þo goþer þike L222. 72 h*e*fi] hefþa P67, hefir B4859. 73 suerþ] + at þu A193. 75 m*enn*] + þú vanst T1768, A345. 75 Hólmgaungo] homgȯngum P67. 75 Þu vanst] ÷ T1768, A345. 75 mistilteini] + Drauguren qvad P67. 75 hundraþ ⟨xxiv⟩] 134 P67. 76 q*v*ad draugrinn] ÷ P67, quaþ draugr L222. 77 reindom] + íþróttir A345, + med L222. 77 Jþrótt*er*] ÷ A345. 79 happav*er*k] + sem first P67. 79 s*em* first] ÷ P67. 80 sua] þa T1768, A193. 80 haufiþ] haufuþ P67. 80 upp] ÷ P67. 80 allann] + upp P67. 82 hafa geingiþ] geingeþ hafa P67.

23. The abbreviations in A601 could be expanded as 'Eg veit eigi'.

24. In A601 and A587, the phrase 'þó góþer þike' is within parentheses.

25. In L222, there is a sentence, which was deleted later: 'oc mon þat happa verk at lata þik sem fyrst deyia'.

26. In A601, the place of the addition is marked with a little insertion mark.

27. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined text in lines 6 and 7.

28. Dittography in L222, 'varþ hromundr þa laus', which is later deleted.

haufiþ*iþ*. Eignaþiz Hrom*undr* þá iij gripi e*r* h*ann* sokti J hauginn, hring, men, oc mistiltein. aller fengo þ*ei*r of fiár. Sigldi olafr k*on*gr sua þ*ad*ann, oc n*or*þr til ⟨danmerkr⟩ ⟨sinz⟩ ⟨rijkis⟩, s*e*ttist sýþann aþ l*an*di sýno um kirt.

Cap*ituli* .iij.

Ept*er* þ*et*ta v*ar* Hrómundr miøg frægr, vinsæll, oc stórgiøfull, H*an*n gaf ein*um* m*anni*, þ*ei*m e*r* Hrókur h*i*et eitt sinn, gullh*r*ing gódann e*r* vó eýri. Þ*ad* fieck Voli aþ vita, oc drap Hrók á náttartýma enn tók hringinn. Enn s*e*m k*on*gr visze þ*et*ta q*v*adz h*ann* skilldi launa vola e*i*rnhu*or*n týma, h*an*z hrecki. K*on*gr[29] átti tuær sistr, ønnr þ*ei*rra h*i*et d*a*gný, enn hin Suanhuýt.[30] Su v*ar* fram*ar* aþ aullu, oc v*ar* einginn h*e*m*ar* lýki, millom Suýþioþar oc háloga l*and*z. Hromund⟨r⟩ G*reips*-s*on* v*ar* nu heima, oc giǫrþi si*er* kátt viþ suanh*uýt* oc f*or*þast hu*or*ki Vola n*ie* Bijld. Hun m*ælti* eitt sinn v*iþ* Hrómu*n*d. oc seig*er* voli oc Býldr muni rægia h*ann* v*iþ* k*on*g. H*a*m*n* m*ælti* ec hrædunst[31] aungvar ‖ argar fýlor, oc sua leingi þu villt unna mi*er* viþtalz, þá 3v man ek tala v*iþ* þik. S*va* v*ar*þ megn þ*ess*e rógburþr, aþ Hromundr, oc h*an*z brǫþ*ur*[32] urþu aþ rýma, f*ra*[33] k*on*gz hird, oc f*o*ru heim til fauþ*ur* sýns. Lýtiþ hi*er* ept*er* talar Suanhuýt v*iþ* olaf k*on*g, oc s*egir* Nu e*r* Hromund*r* dæmd*ur* J brot f*ra* k*ong*z hirþ, hu*or* v*ar* sǫmd Jók þó mest. Enn aptr i staþinn hafi þi*er* m*ed* y*dur* þá tua er huorki rækia frǫgd nie dád. k*on*g⟨r⟩ su*arar* heýrt h*e*fi ek getiþ h*ann* m*vn*þi fifla þik, oc s*kal* suerþiþ skilia yck*ar* ást. Lýtt manstu nú s*agde* hu*n*,

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83 Eignaþiz] + þä P67. 83 gripi] k[0]stgripi L222. 85 n*or*þr til ⟨danmerkr⟩ ⟨sinz⟩ ⟨rijkis⟩] heim P67. 86 l*an*di sýno] sinu landi A345, sijnu rijke P67. 86 kirt] hrijþ L222. 1 v*ar*] vard P67, L222. 1 frægr, vinsæll] vinsæll frægr T1768, A345, frædgr hann var vinsęll L222. 2 ein*um* m*anni*] [einum] A345, eitt sinn P67. 2 þ*ei*m] + manne P67. 2 eitt sinn] ÷ P67. 4 Enn] nu B4859. 6 einginn] engi A345, B4859. 8 f*or*þast] fordadist P67. 8 hu*or*ki] + aþ þui P67. 11 leingi] + sem L222. 14 Lýtiþ] litlu B4859. 14 s*egir*] sagdi A587, A193, P67, L222. 15 J] ÷ A193. 15 v*ar*] vara A587, A193, T1768, A345, L222, B4859, idar P67. 17 nie] og T1768. 17 su*arar*] mælte P67. 18 yck*ar* ást] Aast yckar B4859. 18 nú] þad A345.

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29. In T1768, there seems to be a deleted word after 'k*ong*r', possibly 'het'.

30. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined names of Ólafur's sisters, 'Dagný' and 'Svanhvít'.

31. A601, L222, and B4859 share the reading 'hræþunst' with an 'n' not 'm'.

32. In A345, the abbreviation for 'bræður' is crossed over.

33. In A587, 'fra' is corrected to 'fyrir'.

þegar h*ann* e*ir*n gieck i hauginn, enn eingi ann*ar* þ*or*þi,[34] oc fir man voli ⸌og⸍ bylþr heingþ*ir*[35] v*er*þa s*agde* h*on*. Geck sýþann snvþuckt i brot.[36] Nockru sýþar komo .ij. k*on*gar af Suýþióþ hietu báþ*er* Hallding*ar*. Helgi[37] Hraungvidz bróþ*er* v*ar* m*ed* þ*ei*m. Þ*ei*r Buþu k*on*g olafi til o*rrustu* vestr, á vænis ýs. H*ann* vill nu helldr mæta þ*ei*m, enn flýa óþal sitt. gi*orer* nu ord Hrómundi oc brǫþ*rum* h*anz*. aþ filgia si*er*. þa villdi Hróm*und*r huo*rgi* f*ara*.[38] kuaþ Býlld oc vola v*el* duga. oc vinna allt m*ed* k*on*gi. k*on*gr f*or* af stad m*ed* liþ sitt. Suannhuýt klǫckanþi v*iþ*, oc f*or* heim til Hrom*und*⟨ar⟩. H*a*m tóc h*en*ni v*el* virþ nu til bǫ́n myna s*agde* h*on*, meir enn. beýþni broþr mýnz, oc veit nu liþ k*on*gi. Ek vil g*ie*fa þ*ier* e*ir*n skiǫlld, m*ed* þui bandi e*r* h*onu*m filg*er*, m*vn* þik e*igi* saka m*ed*ann þu h*e*fr þ*ad*. Hrom*und*r þack*ar* h*en*ni giof þ*es*sa gladd*iz* h*on* þá, h*a*m bióst til ferdar oc brǫþr h*anz* viij. Nu k*ie*mr k*on*gr m*ed* liþ sitt til vænis ysz. v*ar* þar f*yrir* Suýa liþ. Enn aþ m*or*gni þegar výgliost v*ar*, vapnast þ*ei*r á ýsnnom, oc socktu suýar hart fram*m*. Strax s*em* b*ard*aginn hófst, var Býldr veiginn, Enn voli kom þ*ar* e*igi*. olafr k*on*gr[39] oc k*on*g⟨r⟩ hallding mættust. oc lictaþi sua m*ed* þ*ei*m aþ hallding v*ar*d sár. Hromu*n*d⟨r⟩ hafþi sett hrauktialld, hinu meiginn vatzinz, brǫþ*ur* h*anz* h*er*klæþast snem*m*a um*m* m*or*guninn. Hrom*und*r m*ælti* Jlla h*e*fr m*ic* dreimt i nótt, oc

19 eingi] eingenn P67, L222. 19 oc] kongr vard miøk reiþr oc mælltti fyrir þesssi þijn ord skal Hromundr Gälgann Gysta þott hann sie frækni kallaþr L222, konungr mælir fyrir þessi þijn ord skal Hromundr Heingdr verþa, þott hann se frækinn B4859. 20 h*on*] + oc L222. 20 i] a A193. 22 Hraungvidz bróþ*er*] bröder Hraungvidz P67. 22–23 k*on*g olafi] Olafi kongi T1768. 23 á] ÷ *damaged* L222. 24 ord] bod P67. 26 f*or*] + þa B4859. 28 nu til] þu P67. 28 meir enn] eir enn A587, eirninn A193, enn T1768. 29 liþ k*on*gi] konge liþ A193. 30 e*igi*] ei P67. 30 m*ed*ann] a medan T1768. 31 ferdar] ferda A345, P67, L222, B4859. 32 v*ar* þar] þar var L222. 32 Suýa] suenska P67. 32 liþ] lideþ P67. 33 þegar] + at A345, L222, B4859. 34 hófst] tökst P67. 35 hallding] Hadding A345. 36 lictaþi] lyctadist L222. 36 þ*ei*m] + þeirra vidskipte P67. 36 aþ] + kong P67, + hinn B4859. 36 hallding] hadding A345, Hadding/Halling (correction) B4859. 37 hrauktialld] + sitt B4859. 37 h*er*klæþast] herklædduzt B4859.

34. Dittography in B4859, 'enn engi Annar þorþi'.

35. In A601, there is an unusual abbreviation: the superscript 'r-rotunda' used for an 'ir' ending instead of a 'ur' ending.

36. In L222, chapter IV begins here.

37. In A601, 'Kári' is corrected to 'Helgi'.

38. In A601, the abbreviation 'ra' is used for 'ar'.

39. In B4859, there are multiple corrections in this sentence: 'kongr var þar, fiell konungr þeirra Halldingur (Haddingur) annar enn'.

man e*igi* ganga allt aþ óskum, oc man e*c* ‖ ecki far*a* id*a*g til o*rrustu*. 4r
Brǫþr h*a*nz saugþo þ*ad* vær*i* stǫr skǫm*m* aþ þora e*igi* aþ veita k*o*ngi
liþ, enn v*er*a þo komin*n* þ*ess* Erindis. Þ*ei*r komo t*il* o*rrustu* oc gengu
hart fram*m*, oc fiell hu*or* um*m* þu*er*ann annann, e*r* þ*ei*m mætti af
liþi halldinga. Ein fiǫlkýngis *kon*a, v*ar* þar kominn i ál⟨f⟩tarham,
hun gólaþi m*ed* sua miklum galldra látu*m*, aþ einginn gáþi aþ v*er*ia
sik. olafz m*anna*. Flaug h*on* ýf*er* þá Greipz sýne, oc saung hátt h*un*
hi*et* Cára[40] Helgi hinn frækni mætti þ*ei*m bræþ*rum* þ*ad* sama sinn,
oc drap þá alla viij. sam*an*. J þui Bili kom Hrom*und*ur J B*ar*d*a*gann.
Helgi hinn frækni þeckti h*ann* oc mæl*ti* Nu e*r* sá kominn hi*er* s*em*
vó hraungviþ bróþr minn, meige þi*er* nu siá v*iþ* h*anz* suerþi s*em*
h*ann* sókti i hauginn. varstu nu fiæri e*r* ek drap bræþr þy*n*a. Hro-
m*und*⟨r⟩ m*æl*t*i* e*igi* þarftu Helgi aþ frýa mi*er* hug*ar*, þui annaþ hu*ort*
ek e*þur* þu, s*kul*u*m* nu falla. Helgi s*agde* Mistilteirn er sua þu*n*gt
vapn, þu fær e*igi* valldiþ, vil ek liá þi*er* þ*ad* annaþ su*erþ*, e*r* þu
g*e*tr valldit. Hrom*undr* m*æl*t*i* e*igi* þarftu aþ br*e*gþa mi*er* u*m* hugleisi
muna muntu þ*ad* hǫgg, e*r* ek gaf hraungviþ, þá hauz h*anz* molaþiz.
Helgi sagþi. þu Hrómundr, h*e*fr bundiþ v*iþ* þýna hǫnd, sockaband,
meýar e*ir*nrar, skil þig vid skiǫlld þann e*r* þu ber, þu fær einginn sár
m*ed*ann þu ber þ*et*ta, oc helld ec fir*er* satt, þu t*ru*er á þá meýo. Hró-
mundr þoldi e*igi* þ*ess*i skapraun*ar* ord, oc kastaþi niþr skilldinom.
Helgi f⁀r´ækni hafþi Jafnann sigr haft oc vann m*ed* fiǫlkýngi, frilla

39 e*igi*] ei P67. 39 ganga allt] allt ganga L222. 39 man e*c* ‖ ecki] ei man eg P67. 40 saugþo] + at T1768, B4859. 40 e*igi*] ei P67, B4859. 40–41 k*o*ngi liþ] liþ konungi B4859. 41 v*er*a] ÷ B4859. 41 Erindis] eyrindis A345, L222, B4859. 41 komo] geingu P67, foro T1768. 41 gengu] söktu P67. 42 oc] ÷ P67. 42–43 af liþi halldinga] ÷ A345. 43 ál⟨f⟩tarham] altarlijke edur ham P67. 44 gólaþi] Gool B4859. 44 einginn] engi A345, B4859. 45 Greipz sýne] Greypssonu L222, B4859. 48 hinn] ÷ P67. 48 þeckti] kiende P67. 48 s*em*] er A193. 49 vó] drap B4859. 49 h*anz*] þvi P67. 51 e*igi*] ei P67. 51 þui] þviat L222. 51 hu*ort*] + skal nu falla B4859. 52 s*kul*u*m*] skulu P67, ÷ B4859. 52 nu] ÷ T1768, A345, B4859. 52 falla] ÷ B4859. 52 s*agde*] mælti A345, svarar L222. 53 vapn] + at A345, P67, L222, B4859, sverd at T1768. 53 e*igi*] ei P67. 53 ek] + þui P67. 53 þ*ad*] ÷ P67. 53 su*erþ*] vapn T1768. 53 e*r*] þat P67. 53–54 þu g*e*tr valldit] þier er vapnbært L222, B4859. 54 e*igi*] ei P67. 55 hraungviþ] + bröþur þijnum P67. 55 hauz h*anz*] hanns Haus B4859. 56 sagþi] svarar P67, mælti L222. 56 v*iþ*] um A587, A193, T1768. 56 sockaband] socka bande A345. 57 einginn] engi A345. 58 satt] + at A345, L222, B4859. 59 e*igi*] ei leingur P67. 59 þ*ess*i] þau P67. 60 Helgi] + hinn P67.

40. In A601, the phrase ‘hon hiet Cára’ is within parentheses.

h*an*z h*i*et Cára, su s*e*m þ*ar* v*ar* i álftarlýki. Helgi reiddi suo hátt
suerþ sitt upp i*fer* sik, at þ*ad* toc sundr fótlegg alftarinn*ar*. oc rendi
suerþit ofan i ┤vǫllinn├ upp aþ hiǫlltum, oc m*ælti* nu e*r* mýn heill
farinn, ok Jlla tocst t*il*, e*r* ek mista þýn, Hromundr m*ælti* þu vanst
helgi hid m*e*sta sliz, e*r* þu drapst sialfr frillo þýna oc f*a*rinn man þýn 65
4v heill, datt cára dauþ niþr ┤á vǫllinn├. Enn af þui hǫggi e*r* helgi || hió
til Hromund*a*r suo suerþ*iþ* lióp aþ hiǫlltum ofan ┤J vǫllinn├, snart
oddr suerdsinz kuiþ hróm*un*d*a*r oc risti niþr. Enn helgi laut epter
hǫggino, v*ar* þá Hrom*un*d*r* e*igi* seinn, oc hǫggr mistilteini i hauf*ud*
Helg*a* klauf hiálminn ok hausinn, sua staþ*ar* mam[41] i h*er*þom, Brot- 70
naþi þá skarþ i suerþiþ. Ept*er* þ*ad* tók Hrómundr týgilknýf sinn, oc
stack á kuidinn á sier J sarzbrvn*ern*a*r*, rauf*er*, hratt suo Jnn ýstrunni
e*r* ut hángþi. hrifi*ar* þar m*ed* sam*an* kuiþinn m*ed* bandi, oc batt
klædinn hart aþ, Barþist sua J ákafa, oc felldi hu*o*rn um*m* annann
þu*e*rann oc barþiz fr*a*m til midrar nætr, flijþi þ*ad* liþ s*e*m ept*er* v*ar* af 75
halldingom, lýkr þar m*ed* o*rrustu*: Hróm⟨un⟩dr si*er* þá, aþ e*i*rn *maþr*
stend*ur* þ*ar* á ýsnom, veit h*ann* sá sami muni hafa m*ed* gǫlld*rum*.
gi*o*rt ÿsenn á vatniþ. þeckti h*ann* aþ þ*et*ta v*ar* Voli, h*ann* q⟨va⟩d e*igi*
u-skillt aþ launa h*onu*m liop t*il* h*an*s, reiddi mistiltein, oc villdi hǫg-

61 h*i*et] ÷ *damaged* L222, A345. 61 su s*e*m] ÷ A345. 61 þ*ar* v*ar*] var þar A345. 62 suerþ sitt] suerdid P67. 62 þ*ad*] ÷ T1768. 62 oc rendi] enn B4859. 63 ofan] nidur P67, sauck B4859. 63 ┤vǫllinn├] ⟩jórdina⟨ P67, ÷ A587, A193, T1768. 63 upp] ÷ B4859. 63 oc m*ælti*] Helgi mælti þä L222, Helgi mælltti B4859. 63 mýn heill] heill mijn L222. 64 tocst] barst nú P67, + nú A345, B4859. 65 sialfr] ÷ L222. 66 datt] + þä P67. 66 ┤á vǫllinn├] ÷ A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 66 af] i L222, B4859. 67 suo suerþ*iþ* lióp] liop sverdit T1768, ÷ A345, B4859, so suerþid sóck P67. 67 aþ hiǫlltum] ÷ A345, B4859. 67 ofan] ÷ A345, P67, B4859. 67 ┤J vǫllinn├] ÷ A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, B4859. 67 snart] snerti B4859. 68 oddr] oddurinn A345, B4859. 68 suerdsinz] ÷ B4859. 68 kuiþ] qvidinn B4859. 68 hróm*un*d*ar*] ÷ B4859. 68 niþr] + allann B4859. 68 Enn helgi laut] Laut Helgi þa mjøg B4859. 69 e*igi*] ei P67. 69 hǫggr] + med P67. 70 Helg*a*] + oc L222. 70 mam] nam A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 70 h*er*þom] herdonum P67, L222. 71 sinn] ÷ T1768. 72 á] i T1768, L222. 72 á sier] æsar P67. 73 hángþi] hieck P67. 73 þar m*ed*] so P67. 74 sua] syþan P67. 74–75 annann þu*e*rann] þveran annann A193. 75 flijþi] + þä P67. 76 halldingom] + og P67. 76 o*rrustu*] orustunne P67, L222, B4859. 77 h*ann*] + at A345. 77–78 hafa m*ed* gǫlld*rum*. gi*o*rt ÿsenn] med golldrum hafa giort isinn T1768, L222, gert hafa isinn med gaulldrum A345. 78 e*igi*] ei P67. 79 aþ] a L222. 79–80 hǫggva] högra A345, haugga P67.

41. In A601, there is a scribal error 'mam' for 'nam', not copied into any other manuscript.

gva h*ann*. voli bles sverþ*iþ* or hendi h*onu*m oc hitti þ*ad* f*yrir*[42] vǫk eina, oc sǫck niþr til grunnz.[43] Þá hló voli oc m*ælti* Nu ertu feigr, e*r* þu mist*er* mistilteýn ur hendi þinni, Hróm*und*r s*agþi* fir munto deýg*ia* enn ek. lióp h*ann* þá aþ vola, oc greip h*ann* upp, færþi niþr viþ ýsinn, sua hálsbein*iþ* brotnaþi, lá þ*ess*i galld*ra* rum*ur* þar dauþr, enn Hróm*und*r. settist niþ*ur* á ýsinn. H*a*m m*ælti* Jeg hafþi e*igi* ráþ meýarinn*ar*, þ*vi* he*fi* e*c* nu feing*iþ* xiv und*er*, oc þo þar til fiellu brǫþr mýn*er* viij. oc mitt góþa su*erþ* mistilteirn, fiell i vatniþ, oc þ*ess* fæ ec alld*ri* bætr aþ e*c* misti su*erþiþ*. g*eck* h*ann* sýþann þ*ad*ann oc heim aþ tialldi syno, oc tóc nockra huild.

Cap*ituli* .iv.

Nu[44] e*ro* k*on*gz systr sócktar, kann*ar* Suanhýt sár Hrómund*ar* oc saum*ar* kuidinn sam*an*, oc leýt*ar* h*onu*m hæginda. Hun liet fær*a* h*ann* kalli þ*ei*m t*il* grædslu, e*r* Hagall h*iet*. kielling h*anz* v*ar* klók. þau tóku vel v*iþ* h*onu*m oc græddu h*ann* aþ heilu. Þ*ad* fann Hrom*und*r aþ ||þ*ess*e hión v*oro* m*arg* kunnug. Kall var vanr at 5r veýþa fiska, oc eitt sin*n* er h*ann* v*ar* aþ veiþiskap sýnom, dró h*ann* eina Geddo, oc er h*ann* kom heim oc krufþi gedduna, fann h*ann* i henn*ar* maga Mistiltein, su*erþ* Hróm*und*r. oc f*eck* h*onu*m þ*ad*. Hrom*und*r v*arþ* glaþr v*iþ* oc kisti á Hiallt su*erþ*sinz, oc umbvnaþi v*el* kalli. Eirn *maþr* v*ar* sá m*ed* Halldingz k*on*gz h*er* s*em* h*iet* Blindur hinn Jlli. H*a*m sagþi k*on*gi, aþ Hróm*und*r væ*ri* lýfz, oc græd*dur* á láun hia Hag`a´li kalli, oc *kon*o h*anz*. k*on*gr q*v*ad u-trvl*e*gt, aþ þau m*vn*þo þ*ora* aþ leina h*onu*m. k*on*gr Bauþ aþ leýta h*anz*. Blindr f*or* m*ed* nockr*a* m*enn*, til hvsa þ*eir*ra Hagalz oc spurdi ef Hróm*und*r væ*ri* þar geimdr. kielling s*agþi* h*ann* m*vn*þi e*igi* Þ*ar*

82 þinni] þér A345, P67, L222. 82 s*agþi*] svarar A345, P67, L222, B4859. 83 upp] + og A345, L222, B4859. 83 færþi] + hann T1768, A345. 84 sua] + hart ad P67. 85 ráþ] ÷ A193. 86 nu] ÷ P67. 86 xiv] 16 A345. 88 misti] mizta A345, L222. 2 kuidinn sam*an*] saman quidin P67. 7 Geddo] + eina A345. 7 gedduna] hana A587, A193, T1768. 8 i henn*ar* maga] ÷ P67. 9 Hiallt su*erþ*sinz] suerdetz hiolla P67. 10 v*el* kalli] kalle vel P67. 10 Halldingz] haddings A345. 10 k*on*gz] konga P67. 13 k*on*gr] Og P67. 13 Bauþ] + kongur P67. 14 Hagalz] + konu hanz P67. 15 s*agþi*] + at T1768. 15 h*ann* m*vn*þi e*igi*] at ei munde hann P67.

42. In A601, the abbreviation mark ‘ra’ is used for ‘fyrir’.
43. A marginal note in A601 refers to the underlined text in lines 12 and 13.
44. In L222, chapter V begins here.

finnast. Blindr leýtaþi vandlega, oc fann e*igi*. Þ*vía*t kelling hafþi faliþ Hróm*un*d. und*er* hitun*ar* katli sýnom. Blind*ur* oc h*ans* felag*ar* gengu þ*ad*ann. oc e*r* þ*ei*r v*o*ru á leýþ komn*er*. s*agþi* Blindr. E*igi* e*r* f*er*þ v*or* frǫg v*or*þinn. oc s*ku*lum vi*er* aptr snva, þ*ei*r gi*or*þo suo, komo heim oc funþu kiellingu, sagþi Blindr h*on* v*æri* Brǫgdött, oc hefþi h*on* geimt Hróm*un*d und*er* katli sýnum. leitiþ oc tak*iþ* h*ann* þar þá q*v*ad h*on*. Enn þ*vi* sagþi h*on* þetta, aþ þ*eg*a*r* h*on* sá þ*ei*r sn*er*o aptr, færþi h*on* hrom*un*d. i kuenn skrvþa. ok liet h*ann* mala oc snva kuǫrn. þ*ei*r leýta ˋiˊ nu hvsonom, oc þ*eg*a*r* þ*ei*r komo þ*ar* mærinn sn*er*i ku*or*ninni, snudroþo þ*ei*r allt u*m* kr*i*ng enn su sama leit óhýrt til k*on*gz m*anna*. sn*er*u sua J Brott, aþ þ*ei*r fundo e*igi*. Oc e*r* þ*ei*r v*or*u á leýþ komn*er*, s*agþi* Blindr aþ kielling man hafa villt sión*er* f*yrir* þ*ei*m, oc si*er* þike grunsamt aþ Hrom*un*d*r* m*vn*i hafa v*er*iþ þ*at* s*em* sneri ku*er*ninni. i kuenn klæþum. Oc sie ek osz h*e*fr ýfer siest, dug*er* oss e*igi* aþ þreita v*iþ* kellingu, þ*vi* h*on* e*r* oss klókari. Báþo þ*ei*r h*em*ni Jlls, oc f*or*u heim aptr t*il* k*on*gz v*iþ* S*vo* Bviþ.

Cáp*ituli* .v.

Wm*m*[45] vet*ur*inn ept*er*, Bar mart f*yrir* Blind i suefni. oc seig*er* k*on*gi
5v eitt sinn Draum sinn. Oc m*æl*t*i* sua. Mi*er*[46] þótti vargur eirn ‖ renna austann, h*ann* beit ýþr k*on*gr, oc veitte ýþr áv*er*ka. k*on*gr q*v*adz r*ad*a þ*em*nann draum s*vo*. Hier[47] man koma k*on*gr af, nock*rum* staþ. oc m*vn* fu*ndur*inn v*er*þa skiæþr first, enn falla þo niþr til sátta. Enn[48] q*v*ad Blind*ur* sik dr*ei*mt hafa, aþ h*onu*m þótti m*arg*e*r* haukar sitia J einu h*us*i, oc þeckti ek þar falka þinn h*er*ra, h*ann* v*ar* allr fiaþra laus , oc flettr hamnum k*on*gr m*æl*t*i* Vindr man koma af skýom, oc skielfa

16 e*igi*] ei P67. 20 komo heim] ÷ *damaged* L222. 20 Blindr] + at A345, A193. 22 q*v*ad] sagde P67. 24 ˋiˊ] ÷ A587, A345, T1768, P67, L222, B4859. 24 nu] + í A587, A193, T1768, A345, P67, L222, B4859. 24 komo] koma A587, A193, T1768. 25 su] sia A345. 26 e*igi*] ei P67. 27 leýþ] veg A345, L222, B4859. 27 aþ kielling] ÷ B4859. 27 man] mundi L222. 28 Hrom*und*r] kelling L222. 30 e*igi*] ei P67. 30 oss] + øllum P67. 1 vet*ur*inn] morguninn L222. 1 seig*er*] + hann A345. 4 þ*em*nann] ÷ A345, L222, B4859. 4 af, nock*rum* staþ] nockur stadar frä P67. 7 þeckti] þeckta A345, P67, L222, B4859. 8 af] or A345.

45. In L222, chapter VI begins here. In A345, there is no clear, numbered chapter division.

46. In A601, the word-initial 'm' is enlarged, marking a dream.

47. In A601, the word-initial 'h' is enlarged.

48. In A601, the word-initial 'e' is enlarged.

vora Borg. Þrid*ia*[49] Draum s*agþi* Blindr sva leýþis. Mørg svýn sá eg
renna sunnan aþ k*on*gz[50] hǫllo, rótuþo Jǫrþunni upp m*eþ* rananum.
k*on*gr m*æl*t*i* þ*ad* e*r* f*yrir* siofar ólgo. Votviþrum oc grasvexti þ*ei*m e*r*
grær af vatzinz vokva er sólin skÿn i heýþi. Fiórþa[51] draum sagþi
Blindr. mi*er* Þótti Eirn ógrl*i*gr hrike, koma austan aþ, h*ann* beit
ý*dur* stóra und. k*on*gr m*æl*t*i* sendim*enn*, f*ra* n*ockrum* k*on*gi muno
koma J mýna hǫll, þeir mano býta upp aullom sýnom vapnom, oc
þ*ar* af man ec reiþaz. Fimti[52] draumr e*r* sá s*agþi* B*lindr* aþ mi*er* þótti
liggia um*m* Suýavelldi Grim*mle*gr ormr. hi*er* m*vn* koma aþ l*an*di
sagþi k*on*gr. Dreki vænn hlaþinn g*er*semom. Siǫtta sinn d*r*eimde
mik, s*agþi* B*lindr* aþ mi*er* þótti koma af l*an*di suǫrt ský. m*eþ* klóm
oc vængiom oc flugu brott m*ed* þ*ic* k*on*gr. Þá d*r*eimdi m*ic* enn, aþ
ormr eirn væ*ri* hiá Hagali kalli, sá beit m*enn* g*r*im*mli*ga, át h*ann*
Bæþi ⟊ý*þr*⟊ mik oc ý*þr* upp ⟍og alla k*ongs* m*enn*⟋ e*þa* hu*aþ* man þetta
þýþa. k*on*gr m*æl*t*i* heýrt h*e*fi ek skamt frá hýbýlom Hagallz. ligge
hÿdbiǫrn n*ock*r. Jeg m*vn* far*a* aþ vinna Biǫrninn, oc man h*ann* þá
Bistast[53] miǫk. hi*er* næst d*r*eimdi m*ic*. aþ dreka hamur væ*ri* d*r*eiginn
um*m* k*on*gz hǫll, Oc hieck þ*ar* viþ lindi Hromundz. k*on*gr m*æl*t*i*
þ*ad* veistu aþ Hróm*undr* misti su*er*d oc linda J vatninu, e*þa* ertu nu
hrædd*ur* v*iþ* Hróm*un*d: fleýre drauma d*r*eimdi Blind, hu*o*ria h*ann*
sagþi k*on*gi. enn k*on*gr reþi þá alla sier i vil, enn aungvann sua
sem merking til haufþo || Nu seig*er* Blind*ur* enn e*ir*n draum sinn, 6r
þ*a*nn e*r* h*ann* sialf*an* snerti oc m*æl*t*i* Mi*er* þotti Jarnhringr settr á
minn hálz. k*on*gr sagþi, þ*ad* e*r* þýþing þ*ess* draumz, aþ þu mant

9 vora Borg] borg vora P67. 10 aþ] + ad P67. 10 hǫllo] + oc A345, P67, L222, B4859. 10 Jǫrþunni] jörðinni A587, A193, T1768. 12 sólin] sol T1768. 14 n*ockrum*] einum A345, L222, B4859. 15 oc] af L222. 16 þ*ar* af] af þui B4859. 17 Suýavelldi] Svijarikki A345. 18 hlaþinn] + af B4859. 19 ský] ku A345, kii L222, B4859. 20 flugu] fliuga i P67, fliuga L222, B4859. 20 enn] + sagði Blindur A345. 21 m*enn*] miok A345. 23 m*æl*t*i*] sagde P67. 23 ek] + at L222. 23 hýbýlom] hybyle P67. 26 Hromundz] Hromundar P67. 27 aþ] ÷ P67. 27 misti] ÷ *damaged* L222. 27 su*er*d] sverðit A587, A193, T1768. 28 fleýre] fleyra P67, ÷ *damaged* L222. 29 alla] ÷ *damaged* L222. 30 hauf þo] hafði A345. 30 Blind*ur*] ÷ *damaged* L222. 30 enn e*ir*n] ÷ A345, L222, B4859. 31 snerti] snerter P67. 31 settr] sleiginn L222, B4859. 31 á] umm L222. 32 minn hálz] haalz mier B4859. 32 sagþi] mælir L222.

49. In A601, the word-initial 'þ' is enlarged.
50. In A601, there is a double abbreviation: 'ks'-ligature and a macron.
51. In A601, the word-initial 'f' is enlarged.
52. In A601, the word-initial 'f' is enlarged.
53. The word 'bista' is probably an orthographic variant form of 'beysta'.

heingdr v*er*þa, oc þar m*ed* mano[54] v*iþ* báþ*er* feig*er*. Ept*er* þetta safn*ar* olafr k*ongur* liþi, hiellt sýþann til Suýþióþar, Hromúnd⟨r⟩ filgþi h*onu*m. komo þ*ei*r óv*art*[55] aþ hǫllo halldingz k*ongs*. h*ann* lá J vtiskem*m*o e*im*nri, h*ann* v*ar*þ[56]e*igi* firr v*ar* v*iþ* enn upp var brotinn skem*m*o hurþinn. hallding hróp*ar* á m*enn* sýna. oc spir, hu*orier* um næt*ur* stryda. Hróm⟨un⟩dr sagþi til sýn. k*on*gr s*agþi* þu munt vilia hefna þinna brǫþ*ra*. Hrom*undr* q*va*d h*ann* skilldi fátt tala u*m* fall brǫþ*ra* sinna. s*kal*to nu þ*ess* giallda. oc hi*er* lýf*iþ* misza. Þá liop ⟩upp⟨ e*ir*n kappi halld*ings* k*ongs*. sua st*or* s*em* rise. Hrom*un*d⟨r⟩ drap þ*an*n. Halld*ing* k*ongr*[57] verst i huýlunni enn fieck eck*er*t sár, þui hu*ort* sinn Hróm*undr* hió til h*ans*, kom su*erþiþ* flatt á k*on*g. Þá toc Hróm*un*dr kilfo oc lamdi hallding k*ong* i hel. Þá m*ælti* Hróm*undr* hi*er* h*ef* ek felldann Halld*ing* k*on*g oc h*efi* ek e*igi* sieþ frǫg*ra* m*ann*. Kallinn Blindr, er hiet Bavýs. var bundinn oc heingþr, oc rættist sva draum*ur* h*an*z. Toco þ*ei*r þar mik*iþ* gull, oc annaþ fie, hielldo sýþann heim. Olafr k*on*gr gipti Hrómundi Suanhuýt. þau untust vel. áttu sono oc dætur t*il* samans, oc v*or*u afbragþ ann*ar*a.[58] Eru af þ*ei*m Komn*ar* k*on*ga ætt*er* oc kapp*ar* mikler, oc lýkr hi*er* saugo Hrom*un*dz greipzson*ar*.

33 mano] munum A193, A345, L222, B4859. 35 þ*ei*r] + ä P67. 36 h*ann*] og A193. 36 e*igi*] ei A193, P67. 37 hallding] Halldingur P67. 38 um næt*ur* stryda] stryde um nætur P67. 38 s*agþi*] mællti B4859. 39 þinna brǫþ*ra*] bródra þinna P67. 39 q*va*d] bad P67, sagdi T1768. 39 skilldi] ÷ A193, P67. 39 fátt] + scylldi A193. 40 brǫþ*ra* sinna] sinna brædra P67. 41 ⟩upp⟨] ÷ P67. 41 k*ongs*] + upp sa var P67, ÷ B4859. 43 h*ans*] + þá A345. 44 Hróm*un*dr] hann L222. 44 kilfo] + eina P67, L222. 45 h*ef*] hefi A193, A345, P67, L222. 45 h*efi* ek e*igi*] ei hefe eg P67. 45 frǫg*ra*] frægri L222, B4859. 48 Hrómundi Suanhuýt] Hrómunde suanhuyte systur syna P67, Svanhvijt Hromundi L222. 50 hi*er*] + suo P67. 51 Hrom*un*dz] Hromundar A345.

54. The reading in T1768 is uncertain, could be 'manu*m*' or 'manu'.
55. In A601, there is the 'ra' abbreviation mark used for 'ar'.
56. In A601, there is the 'ra' abbreviation mark used for 'ar'.
57. In A601, there is an unusual abbreviation: 'rum' used for 'konungur'.
58. In A601, there is the 'ra' abbreviation mark used for 'ar'.

The eighteenth-century version

Manuscripts used for this edition:

- JS 634 4to (J634) – base text
- Lbs 840 4to (L840)

The digital version of this edition with images of J634 can be found online: https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar_J634/.

⟨Sagan⟩ Af Hrómundi Greýpssýni.

I. Cap*ituli* Ætterni, fædíng uppvǫxtr oc bradgǫr sigur Hromundar.

89r

Þat er upphaf þessar*ar* saugo at kongr sa redi fyri Gaurþom er Oláfr het, h*a*m*n* w*ar* son Gnoþ*ar* Asmundar, *og* w*ar* frægr madr. Brædr ij woru med k*on*gi, er sva hetu Kári og Aurnólfr, þ*ei*r woru l*an*d-warn*ar*m*enn* k*on*gs, herm*enn* m*ik*lir og sterkir. Ein*n* Ríkr bóndi bió þar í Rikino er Greýpr het, h*a*m*n* atti þá konu er het Gun*n*lauð,[1] hun war dóttir Hróks hins Svarta, þau áttu ix s*yni* sin á millum er sva hetu: Hrólfr, Háki, Gautr, Þraustr, Angantír, Logi, Hrómundr⟨,⟩ Helgi⟨,⟩ Hrókr. Þ*ei*r woru all*ir* Efnileg*ir* m*enn*, *og* m*ik*lir f*yrir* ser, en þó war Hrómundr f*yrir* þ*ei*m í ǫllu, h*a*m*n* kun*n*i ei at hrædaz. H*a*m*n* war sva á sig kom*in*: at han*n* war fagrEigdr, biartr á hár, herdabreidr, midmiór, og kálfa m*ik*ill, þar m*ed* mikill m*adr og* sterkr, liktiz han*n* miǫg Hróki módr faudr sin*um*. Med k*on*gi woru þ*ei*r ij m*enn* er heto Bildr og Voli, þ*ei*r wor*u* ill*ir* og undirfǫrul*ir*, en þó mat k*on*gr þá m*ik*ils. Eitt sin*n* war þ*at* at Oláfr k*on*gr hellt austr f*yrir* Norveg m*ed* herlidi síno, *og* helldu þ*ei*r at Úlfaskeriom, heriudu wida, *og* lǫgduz at einu kvǫlldi wid eitt Eyland. K*on*gr bidr þá br*æd*r Kára || og Aurnólf at g*an*ga uppá Eyona, *og* wita hv*er*t þ*ei*r sæu n*ock*r 89v skip. Þ*ei*r g[ǫ]ra[2] nú sva, g*en*go uppá landit, og litu vj herskip liggia an*n*ars weg*ar* Ey*ar*inn*ar*, und*ir* haumr*um* n*ock*r*um*, þar w*ar* m*ed* Ein*n* Dreki allskrautlegr. Kári kall*ar* til þ*ei*ra af landi, *og* sp*ir* hver f*yrir* skipun*um* redi? Ein*n* Dólgr stód wid siglu á Drekan*um* uppi,

2 þessar*ar* saugo] Søgu þessarar L840. 3–4 Brædr ij] *unclear* L840. 4 er] sem L840. 11 herdabreidr] herda mikill L840. 12 liktiz han*n*] hann lijktest L840. 13 Hróki módr faudr sin*um*] mödur fǫdur sijnum Hroke hinum svarta L840. 14 mat] matte L840. 17 eitt] ÷ L840. 18 sæu] sæe L840. 18 n*ock*r] [ei00] *damaged* L840.

1. Even though the letter 'ð' is not common in J634, the ascender of the word-final 'd' is crossed with a horizontal bar, making it look like an 'ð'. It is worth to note here that the name is written in the antiqua script, which may suggest some relationship between the script type and the orthography; see also 'Hraugviður' further down on the same page.

2. In J634, this word appears to be written with a detached loop of 'ǫ' or a superfluous abbreviation mark for 'g*er*a', if that's the case, the abbreviation has been ignored here. L840 reads 'giora'.

og qv*ad*st Hraungviðr heita, *og* ræde eg f*yrir* þessum skip*um* s*egir* h*a*n, edr hv*e*rt er namn þitt? Kári s*sagdi*[3] t*il* sin hit san*n*a og til br*odurs* sins, og þar med m*ælir* han*n*: Aungwan m*ann* weit eg werri til í heimin*um* en*n* þig Hraungviðr! og þar fyrir sk*al* eg hǫggwa þig í smá stycki fyrir hund og hrafn: Hraungv*idr* m*ælir*: Eg hefir heriat í xxxiij ár sumar og wetr, og hád m*ar*gar or*rost*or, og f*en*git sigur í þ*ei*m LX jafnan. Mitt wopn er Brijnþwari, er alld*ri* hefir en*n* sliófgast, kom þú her á Morgun Kári! *og* sk*al* eg þá slidra h*a*n í þi*no* briósti. Kári qv*ad*st ei bila m*un*di at hitta han*n*. Hraungvidr matti kiósa hv*e*rn dag m*an* til dauds fyri Brijnþvaran*um*. Þ*ei*r br*æd*r komu nú aftr til k*on*gs og sǫ*gdu* h*onu*m þessi tídindi. K*on*gr baud þeg*ar* at hallda til or*rost*o og sva war gǫrt, hitt*ust* þ*ei*r nú hverutv*egia* og tókz þar hardr bardagi med þ*ei*m. Þ*ei*r br*æd*r g*en*go wel fram, og hafdi Kári jafn*an* viij edr xij m*enn* j hverio hóggi, *og* er Hraungvidr sá þ*e*tta, hlióp han*n* uppá K*on*gs skip*it* til Kára, *og* lagdi Brynþwaran*um* í gegnum han*n*. En*n* er Kári hafdi f*en*git lag*it*, m*ælti*[4] han*n* til K*on*gs: lifit heilir Herra! en*n* ek man Oþin gista. Efftir þ*at* wo Hraungv*idr* Aurnólf uppá Brijnþv*ar*an*um*, og fleigdi h*onu*m d*au*dum á þiliurn*n*ar. En*n* er þ*ei*r br*æd*r wor*u* fallnir, kallar Hraungvidr til filgdarm*ann*a þ*ei*rra, at þ*ei*r skuli gefllast upp í sitt walld, *og* er þá illr kúr í lidi k*on*gs, en*n* eing*in* jarn bitu á Hraungvid. Þess er nú widgetit at Hromundr Greypss*on* w*ar* í filgd med k*on*gi, h*a*n tók ser í haund eina kylfu, byndr ser grátt og sydt geitaskegg, setr sidan m*ik*in hátt á haufud ser, wedr sva fram, *og* finn*r* þá br*æd*r báda d*au*da, tekr han*n* þá upp merki k*on*gs er ádr war nidr fall*it*, *og* lemr m*ed* kylfun*n*i blámen*n*ina[5] til d*au*ds á bad*ar* hendr. Hraungv*idr* sp*ir* nú hver er þ*ess*i hrott*in* wæri, edr er þ*e*tta n*ock*ut s*egir* h*a*n fretkallin fadir h*an*s illa Kára, enn Hróm*undr* s*agdi*[6] h*onu*m namn sitt, *og*

90r

24 til] ÷ L840. 25 br*odurs* sins] syns brödurs L840. 27 hrafn] hr[on] L840. 28 í xxxiij ár] ÷ L840. 28 wetr] + i xxxiij är L840. 28 m*ar*gar] Lx. L840. 29 sigur í þ*ei*m LX jafnan] jafnan Sigur L840. 31 m*un*di] mundu L840. 34 og] ÷ L840. 40 h*onu*m] ÷ L840. 44 med k*on*gi] *damaged* L840. 46 ser] ÷ L840. 49 er] ad L840. 49 s*egir* h*a*n] ÷ L840. 50 enn] ÷ L840.

3. This word is abbreviated in both manuscripts, but the abbreviation in L840 indicates the past tense, hence this expansion.

4. The word is abbreviated in both manuscripts, but the abbreviation in L840 indicates the use of the past tense, hence this expansion.

5. Superfluous abbreviation marker in J634, 'blám*m*en*n*ina', ignored.

6. This word is abbreviated in both manuscripts, but the abbreviation in L840 indicates the past tense, hence this expansion.

qv*ad*z hefna wilia þ*ei*rra br*æd*ra, enn ei war Kári m*er* sk*ill*d[r] s*egir* h*a*n, sk*al* eg þó samt drepa þ*ig*, *og* í þ⟨v⟩í gaf han*n* Hraungvidi kylfu hǫgg sv[a] m*ik*it, at h*a*n b*ar* hallt hofudit efft*ir*, og m*ælti* sídan: Eg hefir nú wer*it* allwída í bard*augum*, *og* alldr*i* f*engit* þ⟨v⟩ílíkt hǫgg
55 se*m* þetta. An*n*at hǫgg sló Hrom*undr* Hraungv*idi* med kylfun*n*i í haufudit, war þ*at* ei lettara en*n* hitt, lamadiz þá hausin miǫg, en*n* í þridia hogginu misti h*a*n lífit. Efft*ir* þ*et*ta g*en*go þ*ei*r allir á hendr k*on*gi, se*m* efft*ir* lifdu, *og* lauk sva bardagan*um*.

II. Cap*ítuli* Hrómundr opnar haug Þráins.

Nú kan*nar* Hróm*undr* skip*in* oc fin*n*r einn m*ann* hallast upp vit í stafni á Drekan*um*, sp*ir* h*a*n þ*ann* m*ann* at namni? en h*a*n qv*ad*z Helgi heita, *og* wera kalladr hin*n* Frækni, er eg br*odir* Hraungvidar s*egir* h*a*n, og nen*ni*[7] eg ydr ei fridar at bidia. Hrom*undr* tók Helga
5 hin*n* Frækna og let græda han*n* at heilu, hellt h*a*n sídan heim á leid afftr til Sviþiód*ar*, ‖ og gǫrdiz þar landwarn*ar* m*adr*. Efftir þ*et*ta hellt 90v
Oláfr k*on*gr lidi sínu westr til Sudr Eýia, g*en*go þ*ei*r þar á land, *og* tóku ser strandhǫgg[e] karl ein*n* bió þar á landi uppi miǫg nærri, hǫfdu k*on*gs m*enn* tekit f*ra* h*onu*m kyr h*a*ns, og ráku þær undan
10 ser til skipa, let karl miǫg aumlega yfer ser, wid þan*n* miss*ir*, *og* er Hróm*undr* ward þess wys sp*ir* h*a*n kall at hvǫr han*n* wæri? en*n* han*n* qvadst Máni heita. Hrom*undr* sp*ir* hvad hellz h*a*n misst hafi? en*n* h*a*n qvedz lát*it* hafa kyr sín*ar*, er wær*i* sitt hiálprædi, qvedz h*a*n búa þar allskamt frá, og kwad lítla fremd at ræna kotkalla; wær*i*
15 þ*at* m*ik*lu m*ei*ri frami s*egir* h*a*n at brióta hauga, *og* abla ser þadan fiár þ*essa* er draug*ur*[8] hefdi at w*a*rdweita, Hrom*undr* bad h*a*n segia ser, ef h*a*n wissi n*ock*ut um sodd*an*, en*n* Máni qvadz wiz wita og m*ælti* Þráin war k*on*gr nemndr, er wan*n* allt Valland og ward þar k*on*gr yfir, h*a*n war Berserkr m*ik*ill og sterkr, og þar med fullr

52 þó] + skal L840. 53 og] þá L840. 53 sídan] Hraungvidr L840. 54 allwída] vijda L840. 58 se*m*] er L840. 7 westr] ÷ L840. 7 Eýia] + vestur L840. 8 landi] landenú L840. 9 h*onu*m] + ij L840. 10 wid] um L840. 13 wær*i*] væro L840. 16 draug*ur*] draugar L840. 16 hefdi] hhefdú L840. 16–17 segia] vijsa L840. 18 er] ÷ *damaged* L840. 18 ward] var L840. 19 og] ÷ *damaged* L840.

7. J634 has an abbreviation marker here, which is vaguely similar to that used for ‘er’, making the form ‘nennir’ a possibility.

8. J634 has here a regular r-superscript abbreviation, which usually is used for ‘ar’ and it would agree with L840, but it has been expanded as ‘ur’ to agree with the form of the following verb.

galld*ra*, h*a*n war settr í haug med sv*er*di og herklædum og m*ik*lu audru fee, en*n* fáir eru þ*ei*r er fysaz þan*n*ig at fáz wid h*a*n s*egir* karl. Hróm*undr* sp*ir* hweria leid sigla sk*ule* þan*n*igd[9] karl seig*ir* at h*a*n má sigla rett í sudr á vj dȯgum. Hrom*undr* þackar karli þessa frá saugo, *og* gaf h*onu*m aptr kyr sín*ar*, *og* þar t*il* an*nat* fee, ward karl gladi wid þ*et*ta, og rak þær heim til bigda sin*n*a. Efft*ir* þ*at* sigldu þ*ei*r brott þadan, *og* helldo skip*um* sinum í þá átt se*m* karl h*a*fdi þ*ei*m tilwísat, *og* at vj daga fresti, komu þ*ei*r vest*an* til at Vallandi og sáu þar haug*in* rett f*yrir* fram*m*stafni, á nesi einu. G*en*gu þ*ei*r
91r nú uppá land at haugin*um*, *og* tóku t*il* þeg*ar* at riufa || h*a*n, en*n* at lidn*um* iiij daug*um*, gátu þ*ei*r kom*it* glúgg á haugin; sáu þ*ei*r þá in*n* at þar sat Dólgr m*ik*ill á stóli, sá war bædi blár og digr, og allr gullleg*um* skrúda klæddr, sva at leyptra þóckti af, rumdi han*n* miȯg m*ik*it, er h*a*n bles at Elldin*um*. Hróm*undr* sp*ir* þá hv*er* þ*ei*rra allra g*an*ga wili í haugin, *og* skuli sá mega kiósa ser iij kiorgripi af fe haugbúans. Voli qv*ad* aungw*an* wilia gefa líf sítt, wid þ*at*[10] se*m* í hauginu*m* er; eru her nú LX m*ann*a s*egir* h*a*n: og m*un* Trȯll þ*et*ta ȯllu*m* þ*ei*m bana weita. Hróm*undr* m*ælti* Vog*ad* m*un*di Kári hafa þ*et*ta ef lífs wæri, og qvad m*ik*legaz at ser wær*i* nidr sleppt í festi nockurri, in*n* í haug*in*[11], þó at eg witi s*egir* h*a*n: at bet*ra* se, at fáz wid viij adra Rauskwa m*enn*, en*n* draug þen*n*an ein saman. Sid*an* fer Hróm*undr* nidr í festin*n*i, war þ*et*ta á nóttu. En*n* er han*n* kom in*n* í haug*in*, *og* nidr á gólfit, þá sveifladiz h*a*n um*m*, og bar sam*an* fee m*ik*it, er han*n* fan*n* fyri ser, *og* batt þat í festar Endan. Þráin h*a*fdi á fyrri daugun*um* wer*id* k*on*gr yfir Vallandi, se*m* fyrr war sagt; Van*n* h*a*n þ*at* allt m*ed* gȯlldr*um*, *og* gȯrdi m*a*rgt íllt af ser. En*n* er han*n* war sva gamall at han*n* kun*n*i ei at geta stridt l*ein*gr; þá let h*a*n setia sig lifanda í haug*in*, *og* m*ik*it fe m*ed* ser.

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21 er] sem L840. 21 þan*n*ig] þangad L840. 22 þan*n*igd] þangad L840. 23–24 frá saugo] fräsógn L840. 25 gladi] gladdur L840. 25 sigldu] hielldu L840. 26 brott] búrt L840. 26 helldo] sigldu L840. 29 t*il* þeg*ar*] þegar til L840. 30 glúgg á] glúgga ä L840. 33 m*ik*it] vid L840. 35 aungw*an*] + munde L840. 35 þ*at*] þvi L840. 40 draug] haugbúa L840. 40 saman] ÷ L840. 47 lifanda] lifande L840.

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9. A mistake in J634, should read 'þangad'.

10. This word is abbreviated in both manuscripts.

11. The expansion with a single 'n' ('haug*in*' instead of 'haug*inn*') follows the written-out forms in J634.

III. Cap*ítuli* Hróm*undr* vin*n*r Haugbúan*n*, og fær Mistiltein.

Hróm*undr* kan*nar* nú víþa haug*in*, *og* getr seet hv*ar* sverd hángir upp á ein*n*i súlu, h*a*m kyppir þ⟨v⟩í of*an*, girdir sig m*ed* þ⟨v⟩í, *og* g*en*gr fram at stólin*um* sva mælandi: Mer man w*er*a mál kom*it* or hauginum fi*r*st eing*inn* hamlar, ‖ eda hv*er*nig weg[n*ar*] þer þú herna 91v
hin*n* Gamli: eda sástú e*ck*e at eg bar sam*an* fee þitt, en húkt*ir* kir á med*an* húndr leidr. Eda hwad war þer í aug*um* er þú horfdir á, at eg tók sv*er*dit og men*it*, *og* fiȯlda þin*n*a an*nar*a gripa? Þráin qv*ad* s*er* einkis w*er*dt þyckia um þ*et*ta, ef h*a*m leti sig kirr*an* sitia á stóli sín*um*; kun*n*a eg s*egir* h*a*m ádr fyr at beriaz, *og* er þá ord*inn* nógu
ragr, ef þú ein*n* sk*alt* ræna mig audi mínum, wil eg synia þer grip*an*n*a*, *og* máttú siá wid mer d*au*d*um*. Þá m*ælti* Hróm*undr* Rigadu þer á fætr, ragr og blaudr, og tak tú sw*er*dit afftr af m*er* ef þú þor*ir*. draugurin m*ælti* þat er eing*in* fremd at bera sv*er*d [á] mig wopnlausan, wil eg helldr reina abl wid þig *og* glímo. Hróm*undr* kastar þá
nidr sv*er*dinu, *og* treisti abli sínu, *og* er Þráin sá þ*et*ta, leisti h*a*m ofan ketil sin*n*, er h*a*m h*af*di upp i yfer hlaudun, war h*a*m þá ei frínlegr og bles at Elldin*um*, er h*a*m war búin at eta or katlin*um*, fun*n*i war m*ik*ill í milli fóta h*an*s, en*n* ketill*inn* fullr af m*ann*a búku*m*. H*a*m war í stacki gullfágud*um*, bád*ar* h*an*s hendr wo*ru* breinglad*ar*, og
beigduz neglur fyri góma. Hróm*undr* m*ælti* skrydtú af stóli skálckr argr! Swiptr aullu fee. Þá sv*arar* draugr*inn*: Nú man mál wera at fara á fætr, fi⟨r⟩st þú fry⟨a⟩r mer hugar þ⟨v⟩i e*ck*e er þ*et*ta þolandi leingr, lydr nú dagurin, en*n* kwȯlld*ar* miȯg, *og* gȯriz þá myrkt í hauginum, reys h*a*m þá á fætr, og g*eck* til glímu wid Hróm*und* og kastadi nidr
frá ser katli sín*um*, neytti Hróm*undr* þá abls; *og* g*en*guz þ*ei*r at sva hardt, at griót og stock*ar* g*en*go upp, *og* allt þ*at* er f*yrir* ward. ‖ þá 92r
dátt draugur*inn* á an*n*at kne og m*ælti* þú stiak*ar* mer, og wýst ertu hraustr, Hrom*undr* s*egir* státtú studningslauz á fætr aptr, og m*ik*lo ertú linari en*n* Mani karl s*agdi* mer. þá tók Þráin at Tryllast,[12] og
fylltiz upp haugr*in* m*ed* illan daun, er wedr g*eck* af h*onu*m tvá wega, setti han*n* þá klær sín*ar* á hnacka Hróm*undar* *og* sleit holld h*an*s og hudina m*ed* af beinun*um*, allt á lend*ar* ofan og m*ælti* kvarta ei um þo gráne leykr*inn* og sárni kroppr þin*n*, þ*vía*t nú sk*al* eg ryfa þig

7 þin*n*a] ÷ L840. 16 upp i] upp L840. 16 hlaudun] hlödunum L840. 18 í] ä L840. 23 nú] ÷ L840. 23 myrkt] dimmt L840. 28 s*egir*] mælti L840. 33 þo] þött L840.

12. In J634, the word-initial letter resembles more the capital ‘d’ than ‘t’, compare with ‘Tígilkníf’ on f. 94v.

kwikan í sundr. E[ig]i weit eg s*egir* Hrom*undr* hvad*an* kattarkyn slíkt er kom*it* í haug þen*n*a. Draugurin m*ælir* þú mant fæddr w*er*a af Gun*n*lǫd, *og* eru fá*ir* þín*ir* lik*ar*. Jllt man wera s*egir* Hrom*undr* attú[13] klórar mig leingi. Glímdu þ*ei*r þá en*n* bædi hart og l*ein*gi, sva at skálf undir þ*at* í nánd war, þar til um sidir at Hróm*undr* felldi han*n* á fótarbragdi. War þá miǫg dim*m*t ordit. þá m*ælti* Draugr*inn*: Nú yfirwan*n*stú mig med rádum, og tókz sverd mitt, skipti þ*at* m*ed* ockr leyki; leingi hefir eg nú lif*at* í haugi m*inum og* lafat á fee þ*ess*u, en*n* ei er gott at trúa grip*um* sín*um*, þó godir þycki of miǫg. Og alld*ri* hefir eg ætlat attú mistiltein*n*! mitt góda sv*er*d, m*un*dir w*er*da m*er* til meins, w*ar*d Hróm*undr* þá laus, *og* nádi sv*er*dinu, *og* m*ælti* herm m*er* nú hv*at* m*ar*ga m*enn* þú wan*n* í holmg*aun*go med Mistilteini. CXXIIIJ qv*ad* draugr*inn*, og f*eck* eg alld*ri* skeinu. Semingr k*on*gr er war í Svíþíod, *og* ek reindu*m* ockar Jþróttir, *og* hugdi han*n* eg m*un*di seint un*ninn* w*er*da af m*enn*sku*m* m*ǫnnu*m. Hellz í l*ein*ge hefir þú werit m*ǫnnu*m til meins s*egir* Hróm*undr* og man þ*at* happa werk, at láta þig se*m* fi*r*st de[y]ia, hió han*n* þá hǫfudit af draugin*um*, og
92v bren*n*di || h*a*m allan upp at biǫrtu báli. Sid*an* war han*n* upp dreg*inn* or haugin*um og* fet allt, sp*urdu* m*enn* þá at h[wer]nig þ*ei*r Þráin og h*a*m h*a*fdi skilit? en*n* h*a*m qv*ad* þ*at* hafa g*engit* í kiǫr, þ*víat* eg hió af h*onu*m hǫfud*it* s*eiger* h*a*m at ockr[t] skilnadi, Eignadiz Hróm*undr* þá iij kiǫrgripi, af þ⟨v⟩í fee er h*a*m socti í haug*in* hríng men og Mis-
tiltein. Feingo þ*ei*r allir of fjár. Sigldi Olafr k*on*gr sva þadan nordr afftr, heim t*il* Rikis síns, *og* settiz um*m* kirt at l*an*di síno.

IV. Cap*ítuli* Hrómundr kemz i onad k*on*gs fyri Róg.

Ept*ir* þetta varþ Hróm*undr* miǫc frægr af þesso verki, var han*n* bædi winsæll og stórgiǫfull, h*a*m gaf ein*um* m*a*n*n*i þ*ei*m er Hrókr het, eitt sin*n* gullhring god*an* er wóg Eyri, en*n* er þ*at* f*eck* Voli at wita drap h*a*m Hrók á nátt*ar*þeli, *og* tok sva hring*inn* til sin, en*n* se*m* K*on*gr wissi þetta, qvadz h*a*m sk*ill*di launa Vola einhv*er*n tíma h*a*ns hrecki. K*on*gr átti systr ij het ǫn*n*r þ*ei*rra Dagní, en*n* hin Svanhvít, *og* w*ar* sú frem*ri* at aullu, war eing*in* hen*n*ar líki milli Svíþiód*ar*

37 en*n*] ÷ L840. 41 nú] + segir draugur L840. 42 godir þycki of miǫg] of mióg þike gödir L840. 45 wan*n*] vanst L840. 45 holmg*aun*go] Hölmgaungum L840. 48 í] ÷ L840. 53 h*a*fdi] hǫfdú L840. 57 síns] ÷ *damaged* L840. 57 *og*] ÷ *damaged* L840. 6 ij] + og L840. 6 hin] Ønnur L840.

13. The scribe of J634 sometimes writes 'áttú' or 'attú' for 'at þú'.

og Hálogalands. Hrómundr Greypsson war nú heima med kongi, gỏrdi hann ser kátt wid Svanhvít, og fordaz hvỏrki at þ⟨v⟩í Vola ne Bíld. Eitt sinn war þad at hun mælti wid Hrómund og segir at þeir Voli og Bíldr muni wissulega rægia hann wid kong, enn hann qvadz aungwar argar fylur hrædaz, og sva leingi seiger hann sem, þú will unna mer widtals, þá man eg tala wid þig, og lidu sva framm nockrar stundir. Enn þar kom umm sídir at sva ward megn þessi Rógburdr, at þeir Hrómundr og brædr hans, urdu || at ríma brott or 93r kongs hird, og fóro heim til faudr síns. litlu her efftir bar sva til eitt sinn, at Svanhvít kom á tal wid Oláf kong brodr sinn, og mælti sva: Nú er Hrómundr dæmdr í brott frá kongs hird, hver er wora sæmd jók þó mest, enn afftr í stadin hafit Er[14] med ydr þá ij wanda menn, er hverki rækia frægd ne dád, kongr svarar heyrt haufum wer þess getit at hann mundi fybla þig, og skal sverdit skilia yckar ástir. Litt man þú þat nú seiger hun, þegar hann einn ward til þess fordum at ganga í haugin at sækia fee til Þráins, er enginn annara af þínu lide þordi, og fyrri munu þeir bádir Voli og Bíldr heingdir werda á gálga, segir hun: enn þeir winni þ⟨v⟩ílik frægdar werk sem Hrómundr geck hun sidann snúdugt í brott.

V. Capituli Hrómundr berz mot haddingum med Olafi kongi fyri bón Svanhvítar

Nockro siþar bar sva til at kongar ij er heto bádir Haddingar oc reþo fyri Svíþiod, gỏrdu ord Olafi kongi og budu honum ij kosti, at hann gæfi þeim upp Ríki sitt, eda berdiz wid þá westr á Vænis ysi, med þeim war þá Helgi hinn Frækni Hraungvidar brodr: enn kongr kiỏri helldr at hallda orrosto wid þá, enn flyia Odul sín; gỏrir hann nú ord þeim Hromundi og brædrum hans, at þeir komi til lids wid hann, wildi Hrómundr þá hvergi fara, qvad þá Bild og Vola wel duga mundi, og winna allt med kongi, for kóngr þá af stad med lid sitt. Enn er Svanhvít systir hans feck þetta at wita, þá fór hun at

11 hann] ÷ L840. 13 will] villt L840. 13 lidu] + nú L840. 15 þeir Hrómundr og] Hrómundur og þeir L840. 15 brott] ÷ L840. 16 hird] + búrt L840. 18 brott] burt L840. 18 hver er] hvor ed L840. 19 hafit Er] hafe þier L840. 19 wanda] vondú L840. 22 man þú] manstú L840. 23 til] ÷ L840. 26 í] ä L840. 6 komi] verde L840. 8 mundi] mundú L840.

14. J634 has a mistake or an unusual abbreviation here ‘er’, a better reading in L840: ‘þier’.

93v hitta Hróm*und* ef w*er*da mætti hun gæti í n*ock*ro mýkt ‖ mikt[15] 10
h*an*s ged, sva h*an*n yrdi k*on*gi til lids. En*n* er hún kom þ*ar*, tók
Hróm*undr* hen*n*i wel, m*ælti* hún þá til h*an*s med klǫckvu bragdi:
Wird nú til bón m*ína segir* hun m*ei*r en*n* werdleika b*rodur* m*íns*
og weit nú lid k*on*gi, wil eg gefa þer ein*n* skiǫlld og filgir h*onu*m
eitt band, at þig mun ei saka á medann þú h*efur* þat. Hróm*undr* 15
þackadi h*enn*i giǫf þessa, *og* het nú ferdin*n*i, gladdiz hún þá, *og*
fór heim afftr t*il* borg*arinnar*, en Hróm*undr* bióz til orostun*nar*,
og þ*ei*r all*ir* br*æd*r h*an*s viij m*ed* h*onu*m. Nú kemr k*on*gr med lid
sitt til Vænis yss, *og* w*ar* þ*ar* kom*it* f*yrir* Svía lid, en*n* at morgni
þeg*ar* víglióz war, wopn*az* þeir h[verir]tveggio á ysin*um*, *og* sóktu 20
Svía*r* hart fram, en strax se*m* bardag*inn* hófz war Bíldr wegin, en
Voli kom þar alld*ri*. þ*ei*r Oláfr k*on*gr *og* Haddíngr k*on*gr mætt*uz* í
bardagan*um* og baurd*uz* lyktadi sva m*ed* þ*ei*m ad Haddíngr k*on*gr
ward sár. Hróm*undr* hafdi sett hrauktialld sitt hino megin watnsins,
þ*ei*r br*æd*r h*an*s herklæd*az* snem*m*a um*m* morgun*inn*, en Hróm*undr* 25
m*ælti* þá: Jlla hefir mig dreymt í nótt, *og* man ei g*an*ga allt at osku*m*,
og man eg e*ck*i fara í dag t*il* or*rost*o, en þ*ei*r br*æd*r h*an*s sǫgdu þ*at*
m*ik*la skǫm*m* wera at þóra ei at weita lid k*on*gi sin*um*, en*n* w*er*a þó
kom*inn* þess [erendis],[16] fóru þ*ei*r nú til or*rost*o, og g*en*go sva hart
fram*m*, at hv*er* fell um*m* þver*an* an*nan* er þ*ei*m mætti af lidi k*on*gan*n*a. 30
Ein fiǫlkíngis kona war þar kom*in* í Alptarham, hún gól m*ed* sva
m*ik*lu*m* galdralatum, at eingin Oláfs k*on*gs m*ann*a gádi at weria sig;
hún het Kára; flo hun yfir þá Greýpss*yni og* saung hátt. Helgi hin*n*
Fræk⟨ne⟩ mætti þ*ei*m br*æd*r*um* þ*at* sama sin*n*, *og* drap þá alla viij
94r sam*an* hvern eff*ter* ‖ an*n*an. J þessu bili kom Hróm*undr* til bard- 35
agans. Helgi hin*n* Frækni þeckti han*n* brádt og m*ælti* Nú er sá her
kom*inn*, er wóg Hraungvid br*odr* min*n*, *og* megit Er[17] nú siá wid
sverdi h*an*s, er han*n* sóckti í haug*num*; warstu nú fiærr*i* Hróm*undr*

10 gæti] keme L840. 10 mýkt] at mijkia L840. 10 mikt] ÷ L840. 13 werdleika] verdskulldan L840. 14 ein*n*] ÷ L840. 27 or*rost*o] orrostonar L840. 29 or*rost*o] orrostonar L840. 31 gól] gölade L840. 32 eingin] einge L840. 33 flo hun] hun flaug L840. 36 sá her] hier sa L840. 37 megit Er] mege þier L840. 38 sverdi h*an*s] hanns sverde L840.

15. The scribe of J643 repeated the last word from the previous page at the top of the following page.

16. The reading is largely unclear in J634, it was deciphered based on the readings preserved in L840.

17. J634 has a mistake or an unusual abbreviation here ‘er’, a better reading in L840 ‘þier’.

s*agdi* h*a*n: er eg drap br*æd*r þína. Hrom*undr* mælti Ecki þarf þú
40 Helgi at fryia mer hug*ar*, þ*víat* an*nar* hv*er* eg eda þú sk*ul*u nú falla.
Helgi sv*arar*; Mistiltein*n* er sva þúngt wopn, áttú fær ei walldit, og
wil ek liá þer an*nat* sv*er*d, er þer see wopnhæfara. Hróm*undr* m*ælti*
Ecki þarftú at bregda mer um*m* orkuleysi, þ*víat* muna muntú þ*at*
hǫgg er eg gaf Hraungvid, þá haus h*an*s moladiz. H*elge* seig*ir*: þú
45 Hrom*undr* hefir bundit wid þína haund sockaband Meyi*ar* ein*nrar*,
skil þig wid skiǫld þan*n* er þú ber, þ*víat* eingi sár fær þú med*an* þú
ber þ*et*ta band, *og* helld eg f*yrir* sátt áttú trúir á þá meyio. Hróm*undr*
þoldi ei þessi skapraun*ar* ord, *og* kastadi nidr sk*ill*din*um*. Helge hin*n*
Frækni hafdi jamn*an* sigr hafft, og wan*n* m*ed* fiǫlkingi fridlo sin*nar*
50 er Kára het, er þar flǫckti þá yf*ir* þ*ei*m í Alfft*ar* líki, reiddi Helgi þá
sva hátt sv*er*d sitt, upp yfir sig, at þ*at* tók sundr fótlegg alfftarin*nar*,
og rendi sv*er*dit ofan í ysin upp at hiǫllt*um* er þ*at* misti Hromund*ar*,
þ⟨v⟩í han*n* brá ser undan. þá m*ælti* Helgi: nú er far*in* mín heill, og
illa tokz til, er eg missta þín. datt Kára þá d*au*d nidr. Hróm*undr*
55 m*ælti* Nú wan*n* þú Helgi hit we⟨r⟩sta slis, er þú drap siálfr fridlo
þína, og farin mun þin heill. En*n* af þesso sama hǫggi er Helgi hió
til Hróm*undar* sn*ar*t oddr sv*er*dsins kwid Hróm*undar* og risti nidr,
en*n* Helgi laut || efftir hǫgginu, er sv*er*dit festiz í ysin*um* se*m* fyrr 94v
war sagt, ward Hromundr þá ei hand sein*n*, *og* hǫggr Mistilteini í
60 haufud Helga, klofnadi þá hialmr*inn* og hausin*n*, sva stad*ar* nam í
herdun*um*, brotnadi þá skard í sverdit. Efftir þ*at* tók Hróm*undr* Tí-
gilkníf sin*n*, og stack í kwidin á ser í sársbrúnin*nar* raufar, hrátt sva
ystron*ni* in*n*, er út hángdi hrifiar þar med sam*an* kwidin med bandi,
og bátt klædin hardt at ser útan, sóckti sva fram í akafa, og felldi
65 hv*er*n um*m* an*nan* þv*er*an*n*, bardiz sva fram til midrar nætr, flydi
þá lid þ*at* se*m* efft*ir* war af Haddíngum, og lykr þar med orustun*ni*.
Hrom*undr* seer þá at ein*n* m*adr* st*en*dr á ysin*um*, *og* weit han*n* at sá
sami mun gǫrt hafa ysin*n* med gaulldr*um* á watnid, þeckti han*n* at
þ*et*ta war Voli. Hróm*undr* qv*ad* ei osk*il*dt at launa h*onu*m n*ock*ro,
70 hlióp til h*an*s, reiddi upp Mistiltein*n*, og wildi hǫggva h*an*n, en Voli
bles sv*er*dit or hendi h*onu*m, hitti þ*at* fyrir wauk eina, *og* sǫck sva
nidr í watnid. þá hló Voli og m*ælti* Nú er þú feigr, er þú mist*ir* Mis-
tiltein or hendi þer, Hróm*undr* sv*arar* fyrr manto deyia en*n* eg, hlióp

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42 er] sem L840. 44 þá] þegar L840. 44 haus h*an*s moladiz] moladest j honum hausenn L840. 45 wid] um L840. 46 þ*víat*] því L840. 50 þá] ÷ L840. 52 er þ*at*] þar er hann L840. 53 þ⟨v⟩í] þar er L840. 55 drap] drapst L840. 57 oddr] oddurenn L840. 59 þá] ÷ L840. 66 þ*at*] ÷ L840.

han*n* þá at Vola, greip h*a*n*n* hondu*m* á lofft upp, og færdi han*n* nidr wid ysin*n* at haufdi, sva at hausin*n* brotnadi, lág þessi galdra Raumr þ*a*r nú d*au*dr, en*n* Hróm*undr* settiz nidr á ysin*n* og m*ælti* Jlla gordi eg at eg hafdi ei Rád meyiarin*nar*, hefir eg nú f*en*git xiiij undir, og þar med miz b*ræd*r mína viij, *og* mitt goda sv*er*d Mistiltein*n* fell í watnid, fær eg þess alld*ri* bætr, er eg misti sv*er*dit, g*eck* h*a*n*n* sid*an* 95r þad*an* *og* heim at tialldi sinu og tók nockra hvíld. ‖

VI⟨.⟩ Cap*ituli* Hrómundr er í grædslo hiá Hagli Karli og Kerlíngo h*a*n*s*.

Sva er frá sagt at þeg*ar* Svanhvít k*on*gs syst*ir* frett*ir* Hróm*undr* mi*ǫc* sár*an* wera, fer hun á h*a*n*s* fund, *og* saum*ar* sam*an* kwidin med silki þrædi *og* smyr sidan, leitandi h*onu*m allra þ*ei*rra hagenda er hún kan*n*, let sid*an* færa h*a*n*n* karli þ*ei*m til grædslu er Hagall het; kerlíng h*a*n*s* war klók nockut, þaug tóku wel wid h*onu*m, *og* græddu han*n* at heilu á laun. þat fan*n* Hromundr at þessi hión woru marg kun*n*ug. karl war wanr at weyda fiska or watninu Wæni, *og* eitt sin*n* er h*a*n*n* w*ar* at weydiskap sin*um*, dróg h*a*n*n* eina Geddu m*ik*la, *og* er h*a*n*n* kom heim og krufdi gedduna, fan*n* han*n* í hen*nar* maga Mistiltein, sv*er*d Hróm*undar* og f*eck* h*onu*m þ*at*. Hróm*undr* ward mi*ǫg* gladur wid þ*et*ta, og kyssti á sverdsins hi*ǫ*llt, *og* umbunadi karli þ*et*ta wel. Ein*n* m*adr* war sá med Haddíngi k*ongi*[18] er het Blindr hin*n* Jlli; H*a*n*n* s*agdi* k*on*gi at Hróm*undr* wæri lífs og græddr á laun hiá þ*ei*m Hagli karli, og kerlíngo h*a*n*s*. k*on*gr qv*ad* þ*at* otrúlegt at þau m*un*du þora at leyna h*onu*m þar. k*on*gr baud at leita h*a*n*s* þáng*at*, fór Blindr þan*n*ig wid n*ock*ra m*enn* til húsa þ*ei*rra Hagals, *og* sp*irja* ef Hróm*undr* wær*i* þar geymdr? kerlíng s*egir* h*a*m*n* m*un*di ei þar finn*az*. Blindr leitadi wandlega, *og* fan*n* ei at helldr, þ*vía*t kerling h*a*fdi falit Hróm*und* und*ir* hitu katli sin*um*, for*u* þ*ei*r nú Blindr og h*a*n*s* feelag*ar* þadan. Og er þ*ei*r wor*u* á leid komn*ir* m*ælti* Blindr: Ei er ferd wor frægileg ordin, og sku*lum* w*er* afftr snúa, þ*ei*r gǫrdu nú sva, komu heim og fundu kerlíngu, s*egir* Blindr hún wæri brǫgdótt, og hefdi geimt Hróm*und* und*ir* katli sín*um*. leit*it* þar þá kv*at*

75 at] ä L840. 76 en*n*] ÷ L840. 79 er] at L840. 1 frá] ÷ L840. 6 þessi hión] þau L840. 6 woru] + klök nockut og L840. 7 Wæni] Væner L840. 9 og] ÷ L840. 9 krufdi] + hann L840. 9 gedduna] + og L840. 9 han*n*] ÷ L840.

18. L840 has a lacuna from here onwards.

hún, *og* takit han*n*. En*n* þ(v)í s*agdi* hun þe*t*ta, at þeg*ar* hún sá þ*ei*r
sneru aptr, færdi hún Hróm*und* í kwen*n* skrúda, *og* let han*n* snúa
kwo̊rn[in] || mala. þeir leita nú í husun*um*, og þegar þ*ei*r koma 95v
þan*n*ig se*m* mærin*n* snir kwo̊rnin*n*i, þá snudrúdu þ*ei*r allt um kríng,
en*n* sú sama mær leit ófyrlega til k*on*gs m*ann*a. Snero þ*ei*r en*n* sva
á brott at þ*ei*r fundu h*an*n e*ck*e. Og er þ*ei*r wo*ru* á weg komn*ir*,
s*egir* Bl*indr* at kerlíng man hafa willt sión*ir* fyr þ*ei*m, *og* ser þycki
grunsamt at Hróm*undr* muni hafa werit þ*at*, se*m* sneri kwo̊rnin*n*i í
kwen*n*klædun*um*, *og* seer eg o*ss* hefir yf*ir*seez, dug*ir* oss ei at þreíta
wid kerlíngu þessa, þ*ví*at hun er oss klókari, bádu þ*ei*r h*em*ni ills *og*
foru heim*m* afftr til k*on*gs wid sva búit, *og* s*agdi* h*onu*m allt sem farit
hafdi.

VII. Cap*ítuli* Draum*ar* Blinds, og útleggingar Haddíngs K*on*gs.

Um vetrin ept*ir*, b*ar* m*ar*gt fyri Blind í svefni, o*g* s*agdi* h*ann* K*on*gi
eitt sin*n* draum sin*n* og m*ælti* sva: Mer þóckti wargr ein*n* ren*n*a
austan af landino, *og* allt hin*n*gat at hallin*n*i, h*an*n beit ydr k*on*gr,
og weitti ydr á w*er*ka. k*on*gr qv*ad*st ráda draum*inn* sva: her man
koma k*on*gr ein*n* af n*ock*rum stad, *og* man fundur*inn* w*er*da skædr
f*ir*st, en falla þó nidr til sátta. En*n* qv*ad* Blindr sig dreimt hafa an*nan*
draum: At h*onu*m þóckti marg*ir* haukar sitia í einu húsi, *og* þeckta
eg þ*ar* fálcka þin herra s*agdi* h*an*n: han*n* w*ar* allr fiadralaus, og flettr
haminum. k*on*gr m*ælti* Vindr man koma af skyum, og skelfa wora
Borg. þridia draum dreimdi mig s*agdi* Blindr: At eg þóckti siá mo̊rg
swín ren*n*a sun*nan* at k*on*gs hallin*n*i, rótudu þau mio̊g upp jo̊rdun*n*i
med ranan*um*, k*on*gr m*ælti* þat er fyri siáfarólgu, wotwidr*it* og gras-
wexti þ*ei*m, er grær af wat(n)sins waukva, er sólin skyn í heidi. fiorda
draum dreimdi mig s*agdi* Blindr: at mer þóckti ein*n* ogurlegr hriki
koma || austan ad, h*an*n beit ydr k*on*gr stóra und, k*on*gr m*ælti* Sen- 96r
dim*enn* munu koma frá ein*um* k*on*gi í mína hall, þ*ei*r munu bíta
upp o̊*llum* sin*um* wapn*um*, *og* þar af man eg reid*az*. Hin*n* fimti
draumr er sá segir Blindr: at mer þóckti liggia um allt Svíawelldi
ein*n* grimlegr ormr. Her man koma at l*an*di s*egir* k*on*gr dreki wæn*n*
hladin*n* gersem*um*. *Sjo̊unda*[19] Draum dreimdi mig, s*agdi* Blindr: At
mer þóckti koma af l*an*di ofan svo̊rt kyr[20] med klóm, og wængium,

19. Note that the story jumps from the fifth dream to the seventh dream.
20. Note that the variant 'kýr' is characteristic to text-group B.

og fliúga brott med þig k*on*gr! þá dreimdi mig en*n* s*agdi* h*an*n: at ormr ein*n* wæri hia Hagli karli, sá beit mig grim*m*lega, át han*n* bædi mig og ydr upp, k*on*gr! og alla ydar m*enn*, edr hwad mun þ*et*ta þída herra! k*on*gr m*ælti* heyrt hefir eg sagt, at skamt á brott fra
25 híbylum Hagals karls, liggi hydbiǫrn no*ck*r, man eg fara at win*n*a Biǫrn*inn* og man h*an*n þá bistaz miǫg. Her næst dreimdi mig s*agdi* Blindr: at dreka hamr wær*i* dregin*n* um k*on*gs hǫllina alla, og heck þ*ar* wid lyndi Hromundar. k*on*gr m*ælti* þat weit þú at Hróm*undr* misti sverd og lynda í watninu, eda ertú nú hræddr wid Hrómund?
30 Fleiri drauma dreimdi Blind, hv*er*ia han*n* s*agdi* alla k*on*gi, en k*on*gr redi alla ser í wil, en aungw*an* sva se*m* þíddi. Nú s*egir* Blindr draum sin*n* er han*n* dreymdi um sialfan sig og m*ælti* mer þóckti Jarnhringr settr um min háls, s*agdi* h*an*n: k*on*gr m*ælti* þat er þíding þess draums attú mun heingdr w*er*da, og þar med munu wid bádir feigir.
35

VIII. Cap*ituli* Dráp þ*ei*rra Haddíngs k*on*gs og Blinds *og* gipting Hróm*undar*

96v ‖ Ept*ir* þetta samn*ar* Oláfr K*on*gr lidi, oc hellt þ(v)í sidan t*il* Svíþiód*ar*. Hróm*undr* filgdi h*onu*m, komu þ*ei*r á owart at haullu Haddíngs k*on*gs, h*an*n lág í úti skemmu ein*n*i, og ward ei fyrr war wid hernadin, en*n* upp war brot*in* skem*m*u hurdin, kallar Haddingr k*on*gr þá á m*enn* sína, og sp*ir* hver*ir* um*m*[21] nætr strída? Hróm*undr*
5 s*agdi* til sín. k*on*gr m*ælti* þú munt nú wilia hefna br*æd*ra þin*n*a? Hróm*undr* s*agdi* han*n* sk*ill*di fátt tala um*m* fall br*æd*ra sin*n*a; sk*al* þú nú þ*ess* giallda s*egir* h*an*n: *og* her lífit missa. Þá hlióp upp ein*n* kappi Haddíngs k*on*gs, sva stór se*m* Risi, og wildi weria k*on*g, en*n* Hróm*undr* drap þan*n*. Haddingr k*on*gr werz í hvílun*n*i sva h*an*n
10 feck eckert sár, þ(v)í hv*er*t sin*n* se*m* Hróm*undr* hió til h*an*s, kom sw*er*dit flátt á k*on*g, þá tok Hróm*undr* kylfu og lamdi Haddíng k*on*g í hel med hen*n*i. þá m*ælti* Hróm*undr* Her hefir eg felldan Haddíng k*on*g, *og* hefir eg ei fundit frægri m*ann*. Karlin Blindr, er het Bavis rettu nafni war bundin*n* og heingdur sidan, rættiz
15 sva draumr h*an*s. Toku þ*ei*r þ*ar* m*ik*it gull og an*n*ad fee, helldu sidan heim. Oláfr k*on*gr giffti Hromundi Svanhvít systr sína, þaug un*n*tuz wel, áttu s*yni* og dætr til samans, *og* woru afbragd an*n*ara

7 s*agdi*] qvad L840. 9 k*on*gs, sva] ÷ *damaged* L840. 13 med hen*n*i] ÷ *damaged* L840. 14 fundit] ÷ *damaged* L840. 18 til] ÷ *damaged* L840.

21. Here the text of L840 starts again on f. 260r.

m*ann*a, eru af þ*ei*m komn*ar* k*on*ga ættir og kappar miklir, og
20 dreifdiz sá afspreingr wída um*m* laund, jafnwel til Islands. Og lykr her sva Saugun*n*i af Hromundi Greýpssyni. [22]

22. In J634, the text is followed by a colophon, which reads 'skrifud 3 Martii A*nno* 1767.'. There is no colophon in L840.

The nineteenth-century saga

Manuscripts used for this edition:

- BL Add. 11109 (B11109) - base text
- Lbs 679 4to (L679)
- Lbs 1572 4to (L1572)
- Lbs 2404 8vo (L2404)

The digital version of this edition with images of B11109 can be found online:
https://editions.mml.ox.ac.uk/editions/hromundar_B11109/.

106v

Sagan af Hrómundi Greipssyni.

I kap*ítuli*

Sva hefr Søgo þess*a*, a*t* á þ*ei*m tímu*m* s*em* m*ar*g*ir* Stólk*ong*a*r* vo*r*o í Norvegi, Danm*or*co o*c* Svíþjóþ, g*jǫ́r*þost m*ar*g*ir* Hǫfþíngj*ar* o*c* st*or*mektug*ir* Herr*ar*, Greif*ar* oc J*ar*l*ar*, s*em* bruto s*ic* t*il* ri*c*ja o*c* landa, h*er*juþo sva v*el* á vetr*om* s*em* sumr*om*, o*c* ǫ́bluþo sér sva fjár o*c* frægþa. A m*ed*al þess*ara* o*c* þ*ví*lík*ra* v*ar* ein*n* mi*c*ils v*er*þr K*óng*r, s*em* Olafr h*iet*, h*ann* v*ar* ólatasti t*il* b*ar*daga, ǫr af fé v*it* vini sína, en*n* str*an*gr o*c* hefnigj*ar*n v*it* Ovini; h*ann* r*ac* af r*icj*o*m* m*ar*ga K*on*ga o*c* hǫfþíngja, o*c* hafþi vetrseto í Norvegi, sérdeilis á Háloga l*an*di, þ*ar* sat K*óng*r optast. K*óngr* átti ij systr, s*em* fram*m* t*óco* ǫll*om* ǫþr*om* mey*om*, a*t* kost*om* o*c* qven*n*príþi, hyggind*om* s*em* h*an*dvirþ*om*,[1] á millum Vícr o*c* Hálogal*an*ds, h*iet* ǫn*n*r Dagný e*n* ǫn*n*r Svanhvít; Svanh*vít* b*ar* af systr sin*n*i of[2] flesta luti, þó vo*r*o báþ*ar* hin*ar* tignarl*e*gosto Jómfrúr. Tveir br*æþ*r vo*r*o m*eþ* K*óng*i er h*ann* h*afþi* mest*ar* mætr á, o*c* h*iet* ein*n* Bíldr, e*n* an*nar* Vole, þ*ei*r vo*r*o full*ir* fjǫlcíngis, galdra o*c* g*jǫ́r*níng*a*, íllsko o*c* und*ir*fǫ́r*ul*h*ei*t*a*; þ*ei*m q*v*omo fá*ir* lut*ir* óvo*r*om, o*c* íllt lǫgþo þ*ei*r t*il* fleyrstra mála. Maþr no*c*r bjó í nálægþ K*óng*i, er Greipr h*iet*, h*ann* v*ar* auþugr a*t*

2 m*ar*g*ir* Stólk*ong*a*r*] fylkis kongar L1572. 3 Hǫfþíngj*ar*] ÷ L2404, L1572. 3 o*c*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 4 Herr*ar*] ÷ L679. 5 sva v*el*] jafnvel L2404. 5 s*em*] og L1572. 6 frægþa] frægdar L679, L1572. 6 o*c* þ*ví*lík*ra*] ÷ L2404, L1572. 6 v*er*þr] háttar L679, L2404. 7 s*em*] er L679, L1572. 7 ólatasti] hinn ólatasti L2404, L1572. 8 str*an*gr o*c*] ÷ L1572. 8 hefnigj*ar*n] hefndargiarn L1572. 8 r*icj*o*m*] riki L1572. 9 í Norvegi, sérdeilis] ÷ L2404. 10 K*óngr*] hann L1572. 11 ǫll*om*] ÷ L679. 12 s*em*] og L679, L1572. 12 h*an*dvirþ*om*] hamingu L679, handyrdum L1572, handiþnum L2404. 13 Svanh*vít*] hún L679. 13 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 14 tignarl*e*gosto] tig[a]glegustu L679, görfilegustu L2404. 14 Jómfrúr] meýar L2404. 15 o*c* h*iet* ein*n*] hiet annar L679, L1572. 16 fjǫlcíngis] fjólkingis og L679, L2404. 16 g*jǫ́r*níng*a*] ÷ L2404. 16 íllsko] ÷ L2404, L1572. 16 o*c* und*ir*fǫ́r*ul*h*ei*t*a*] ÷ L1572, og undirfǫrulir L2404. 17 þ*ei*m q*v*omo] komu þeim L1572. 18 a*t*] af L679, L1572.

1. An example of an archaic word *handvirði* (neuter noun), registered in OH from the 17th cent.; the variants *handiðn* (feminine noun) registered from 18th–20th cent., and *handyrð* (feminine noun) registered from 17th–19th cent. In Blöndal's dictionary, *handvyrðir* is a synonym of *hannyrðir*, which is translated as female handicraft (Da. *kvindeligt håndarbejde*).

2. An archaic use of the preposition 'of' with acc., which has the same meaning as 'um'.

fé, oc hinn gǫfgasti af bændom þar of pláts; hann var qvæntr maþr oc átti dóttur Hróks hins Svarta, er Vallaug hiet, hún var qvennkostr en betsti, oc vel at sér of marga luti. Greipr unni kono sinni micit, oc ól vit henni ix suno; hiet einn Héþinn, annar Haci, þriþji Gautr, fjórþi Hǫgni, fimmti Þrǫstr, sjǫtti Angantýr, sjǫundi Logi, áttundi Helgi, níundi Hrómundr, hann var eldstr þeirra bræþra oc hinn
107r frægasti maþr at ‖ hreysti oc ǫllom frækleica, sva hann bar langt af mǫnnom þar í byggþom, þeir bræþr allir voro af alþýþo kallaþir Hrócar, því þeir voro af Hrócs ætt qvomnir. Hrómundr var bjartr á hár, hýr í tilliti, en snar í augom, breiþr á herþar oc stormenni at vexti, hann gaf sic alldrei fyrir und eþr ákomo, oc vit enga æþru var hann kéndr; þeir bræþr hans voro oc allir miclir menn til allra mannburþa.

II kapítuli

Þat var einusinni sem optar, at Olafr Kóngr lætr blása til herferþar, heimtir saman liþ sitt, oc segist vilja hafa her úti, eptir vana sínom, at ávinna sér oc kǫppom sínom kost oc uppheldi, sva frægþ af fara megi, en óhróþr niþr leggjast, dreif nú til Kóngs fjǫldi af fólki or ýmsom áttom, heldr þá Kóngr þegar á haf meþ mǫrgom tilfaungom. Maþr var sá meþ Olafi Kóngi sem Kári h(ie)t, hann var ágjætis maþr at ǫllom drengscap, hann var fóstbróþir Hrómundar oc ástfólginn vinr; bróþir hans hiet Ørnólfr, oc var maþr fræcinn. Kári var ramr at abli, hann stóþ jafnan í Kóngsins eyrindom, oc var stafnbúi hanns.

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19 hinn gǫfgasti af bændom] gófugastr bondi L679. 19 þar of pláts] ÷ L2404, L1572, þar um plátss L679. 20 oc] hann L679. 20 Vallaug hiet] Vallaug hét /:al: Gunnlod :/ modir hennar Brinhildur dottir Haka konungs i Skáney L1572, Vallaug (alii Gunnlǫd :) móþir hennar var Brynhildr dóttir Haca konungs á Skáneý L2404. 21 betsti] vænsti L679. 21 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 22 Héþinn] Haki L1572. 22 Haci] Hedinn L1572. 23 Logi] Lodinn L679, L1572. 25 hreysti oc ǫllom frækleica] óllum jþrottum og hreisti L679. 26 byggþom] sveitbigdum L679. 26 allir voro] voru L679, voru allir L1572. 26–27 af alþýþo kallaþir Hrócar] kalladir þar i bigdum af óllum Hrokar L679, af alþíþo Hrókar kallaþir L2404. 28 en] og L2404. 28 oc] en L679. 28 stormenni] stór L1572, mikill L2404. 28 at] í L679. 30 oc] ÷ L2404. 30 miclir menn] mikilmenni L679. 30–31 allra mannburþa] hreisti L2404. 1 optar] ÷ L679. 2 segist] qvaþst L2404. 3 at] og L679. 3 ávinna] vinna L679, [ava] L2404. 3–4 frægþ af fara megi] fara meigi frægd af L679, frægd af fengist L1572. 4 af fólki] ÷ L679, fólks L1572. 5 áttom] lóndum L679. 5 þá] ÷ L679, L1572. 6 sá] ÷ L679. 6 sem] er L679, L2404, L1572. 6 ágjætis] ágjætr L679. 8 oc] hann L679. 9 hann] og L679, L1572. 9 oc] hann L679.

Nú s*em* K*óngr* v*ar* á haf sigldr, g*jǫr*þost h*ono*m óhagstæþ*ir* vind*ar*, sva K*óngr* hlaut a*t* halda austr t*il* Svíþjóþ*ar*, o*c* a*t* eino qveldi sigldo þ*ei*r und*ir* Ey*ar* þ*ær* er Ulfaskér h*ei*ta, þ*ar* létto þ*ei*r atkér*om*, o*c* tóco náþ*ir*. Þá m*ælir* K*óngr* v*it* Kára: nú skulot þit br*æþr* g*an*ga á l*an*d o*c* þv*ert* yf*ir* þ*ess*a eyo s*em* v*it* er*om* v*it* komn*ir*, o*c* vita hv*ort* þ*ér* ver*þit* e*ck*i v*a*rir v*it*, a*t* vícíng*ar* nein*ir* séo hino megin*n* Ey*arinnar*. Kári m*ælir* sva skul*om* v*it* gj*ǫ*ra s*em* þér t*il*mælit, Herra! t*a*ca þ*ei*r br*æþr* vapn sín o*c* g*an*ga á l*an*d upp o*c* yfir eyona, o*c* s*em* þ*ei*r q*v*omo á ham*ar* n*o*corn, sjá þ*ei*r vj h*er*scip ligg*ia* und*ir* Eyun*n*i, m*ic*it st*or* o*c* skrautl*e*g, þó b*ar* þ*ar* eitt af ǫll*om*, þ*at* v*ar* dreci sva vegl*e*gr, a*t* Kári þóktist ei an*nan* slíc*an* sjeþ h*afa*, || h*ann* v*ar* scygþr o*c* scorin*n* stafna 107v á mill*om*. Kári settist niþr o*c* qv*aþ* m*ar*g*ar* vísr af ágæti scip*ana*; síþ*an* kallaþi h*ann* t*il* þ*ei*rra er láo f*yrir*, o*c* spyr hv*orjir* v*æ*ro? sá nemndi s*ic* er f*yrir* þ*ei*m v*ar* o*c* sagþist Hraungviþr h*ei*ta; Kári þóktist e*ck*i sjeþ h*afa* sva gild*an* þussa o*c* íllúþl*e*gri s*em* Hraungviþ, þ*ví* h*ann* v*ar* bæþi blár o*c* sv*ar*tr; Kári m*ælir* ertú Vícíngr eþr Kaupm*aþr*. Hraungv*iþr* m*ælir* e*ck*i er þ*ér* a*t* slíco spyrja, fyrr e*n* þú fær a*t* reyna, o*c* munto e*ck*i min*ni* ver*þa*, eþa hv*aþ* hefr þú t*il* nafns? Kári nemdi s*ic* o*c* Ørnólf. Hraungv*iþr* m*ælir* hefr þú n*o*cot kallm*an*l*e*gt adhafst? Kári qv*aþ*st e*ck*i kun*n*a þ*ví* a*t* hrósa. e*n* í xxxiij v*e*tr hef e*c* í vícíngo v*er*it, o*c* m*ar*gt sjeþ o*c* heyrt, eþa villto leggja t*il* atlǫgo v*it* m*ic*? Hr*aungviþr* m*ælir* á m*or*gun skalto san*n*a þ*at*, a*t* e*c* sk*al* e*ck*i undanteljast. Kári m*ælir* þat þykist e*c* sjá, a*t* fáa muni á þin*n* fund fýsa, þ*ví* e*c* hefi LX sin*nom* einvíg hald*it*, o*c* afb*or*it þ*ei*m er móti vógo o*c* engin*n* þ*ei*rra leitst mér sva þussl*e*gr s*em* þú ert, þ*ví* munto v*er*a hit mesta fól, o*c* villda e*c* a*t* þú þryfist alldrei. Hr*aungviþr* m*ælir* þ*ví* heldr s*em* þér rís hugr v*it*

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10 óhagstæþ*ir* vind*ar*] óhagstædr vindr L679, L1572. 11 hlaut a*t* halda austr] vard ad ⸢sig⸣ hallda L679. 11 Svíþjóþ*ar*] Svijþjodar austr L679. 12 Ulfaskér h*ei*ta] heita Elfar skier L679. 12 atkér*om*] atkér síga L679. 13 g*an*ga á l*an*d] ganga hier á land L679, a land ganga L1572. 14 s*em*] er L679, L1572. 14 v*it*] ad L679, L1572. 15 a*t*] ÷ L679. 15 vícíng*ar* nein*ir* séo] neina vijkinga L679, vijkingar seu L1572. 16 Herra!] herra segir hann L679, L2404, L1572. 17 upp] ÷ L679. 17 s*em*] er L679. 18 vj] vij L679. 18 m*ic*it] mjóg L679. 19 þ*ar*] ÷ L679. 19 sva veglegr] mikill og vænlegr L679. 20 an*nan*] ÷ L679. 21 settist niþr o*c*] ÷ L679. 21 scip*ana*] skipsins L679. 22 láo f*yrir*] fijrir láu L679. 22 hv*orjir* v*æ*ro?] hvór fijrir væri L679. 23 sagþist] kvadst L679, L1572. 23–24 sjeþ h*afa*] hafa sied L679. 24 sva gild*an*] gildari L679. 24 íllúþlegri] illudligann L1572. 24 s*em*] enn L679, L2404. 26 spyrja] ad spirja L679, L2404, L1572. 27 hefr þú t*il* nafns] heitir þú L679. 29 v*e*tr] ár L2404. 30 t*il*] í L679. 32 á þin*n* fund fýsa] fýsa á þinn fund L679. 34 sva] eins L679. 34 s*em* þú ert] og þú L679. 34 a*t*] ÷ L679. 35 þ*ví*] þess L679.

mér fram*ar* ǫ́þr*om*, s*em* þú segist v*it* h*afa* b*a*rist, skalto fá a*t* vita, a*t* þó mér blæþi or hv*or*jo sári, þá man e*c* ec*k*i ren*n*a undan þér, o*c* haf*ir* þú hug s*em* dug*an*di[3] drengr, þá munto á m*or*gun t*il* reyna. Kári qv*aþ*st vilja á hætta, o*c* kǫ́stoþost þ*ei*r lengi á orþ*om*. Síþ*an* g*en*gr Kári heim aptr y*fir* Eyuna þ*ang*at s*em* K*óngr* lá á scip*om* sín*om*. Ol*afr* K*óngr* sat y*fir* b*or*þ*om*, er þ*ei*r br*æþr* qv*o*mo. K*óngr* spyr tíþinda; þ*ei*r br*æþr* s*egja* h*it* san*n*a, a*t* Vícíng*ar* lægi und*ir* Eyun*n*i, o*c* ásc*or*uþo t*il* b*ar*daga þá m*or*gn*at*i. K*óng*r spratt upp o*c* b*at* m*enn* búast t*il* orrosto o*c* sva g*já*rþo þ*ei*r, a*t* þ*ei*r sciptast, draga sum*ir* fram*m* f*yrir* eyuna,
108r e*n* aþr*ir* lǫgþo t*il* scóg*ar* o*c* tóco sér viþ*ar* kylfr, oc ‖ qv*o*mo sva t*il* sin*n*a m*ann*a er vícíng*ar* af visso, h*er*klæþdost þ*ei*r o*c* þrifo vapn sín, o*c* þurfti þ*ar* ec*k*i a*t* hǫ́gg*om* a*t* spyrja, g*en*go þ*ar* hv*or*utveggjo í liþ an*nar*s. Þeir Kári o*c* Ørnólfr g*ang*a nú fram*m* o*c* deyþa m*arg*an Vícíng; Þ*ei*r Hraungv*iþr* o*c* m*enn* h*an*s, sæcja þ*ang*at s*em* Kári er, e*n* er Kári sjer þ*at* tec*r* h*an*n st*or*t a*t* vega, sva h*ann* fell*ir* xij í hv*or*jo hǫ́ggi; e*n* s*em* Hraungv*iþr* sjer þetta, kall*ar* h*ann* ærit hátt o*c* íllil*e*ga o*c* biþr m*enn* sína v*el* fram*m* g*ang*a, hleypr h*ann* nú uppá sceiþina, er Ol*afr* K*óngr* v*ar* á, o*c* hjó m*argann*[4] m*ann* t*il* b*an*a; Kári kémr á móti, h*afþi* h*ann* þá hlaupit aptr á K*óng*s skeiþ. Hraungv*iþr* mæl*ir* til Kára: nú erto qv*o*min*n* híng*at* aflóga hundurin*n*, o*c* scul*om* v*it* nú reyna, hv*or*j*om* betr bíta vapnin. Kári reiþdist orþ*om* h*an*s, o*c* hjó t*il* Hraungv*iþs* e*n* h*ann* skaut skyldi f*yrir* s*ic*, o*c* festist sv*er*þ*it* í, Hraungv*iþr* sjer þ*at*, o*c* sn*ar*ar scyldinom í lopt upp; Kára v*er*þr laust

36 skalto fá a*t* vita, a*t*] skalltu vita L679. 37 man] skal L679. 37 ren*n*a undan þér] undan þier renna L679. 38 dug*an*di] dugandis L679, L2404. 39 vilja á hætta] á hætta vilja L679. 41 þ*ei*r] ÷ L2404. 41 qv*o*mo] komu aptr L679. 41 þ*ei*r] ÷ L679. 42 br*æþ*r] ÷ L1572. 43 þá] þegar L679. 44 a*t* þ*ei*r sciptast] búast til L679. 46 m*ann*a] manna enn L679. 46 er vícíng*ar* af visso] þá vícingar verþa þess varir þa L2404. 47 hǫ́gg*om*] sǫ́kom L2404. 47 þ*ar*] þeir L679, ÷ L2404. 48 g*ang*a nú fram*m*] gengu hart framm L679, ganga hart fram L2404. 49 Vícíng] mann L679. 49 o*c* m*enn* h*an*s] ÷ L679. 49 þ*ang*at] þar ad L679. 50 sva] svo ad L679. 50–51 xij í hv*or*jo hǫ́ggi] xij i hóggi hvórju L679, ótal manna L2404. 51 ærit] afar L1572. 52 h*ann*] ÷ L679. 53 hjó] fellir L679. 53 t*il* b*an*a] ÷ L679. 53 kémr] + þá L679. 54 hlaupit aptr] aptr hlaupid L1572. 54 skeiþ] s[kip] L679, sceiþina L2404, skipid L1572. 57 skyldi f*yrir s*ic] fyrir sig skildi L1572.

3. L679 and L2404 share the reading *dugandis*, which is an archaic form of *dugandi*, but both forms are registered in OH from the 16th to the 20th cent. In Blöndal's dictionary, *dugandis* is translated as hard-working (Da. *dygtig*).

4. Double abbreviation in B11109, the superscript 'n' has a macron above, therefore expanded with two 'n's. The same abbreviation used in the following word 'menn'.

sv*er*þ*it* óvo*r*om, han*n* hleypr í lopt ept*ir* þ*ví*, o*c* hæf*ir* m*ed*alkablan*n*
o*c* q*v*om fjærri niþr. Ørnólfr h*afþi* staþ*it* nærstr Kára bro*þr* s*inum* nær
eþ han*n* ljóp ept*ir* sv*er*þíno; Hraungv*iþr* ætla*þi* a*t* leggja til Kára, e*n*
misti h*an*s, þ*at* v*ar* sva gott sv*er*þ, a*t* v*ar*la f*an*st betra[5] sv*er*þ, þ*at* er
Hraungv*iþr* átti, þ*ví* h*ann* kaus jafn*an* m*ann* f*yrir* hǫggi er h*ann* brá
þ*ví*. Nú s*em* Kári q*v*om fjærri niþr leggr Hr*aungviþr* sv*er*þ*it* f*yrir*
brjóst Ørnólfi o*c* í gégn*om* h*ann*, o*c* kast*ar* h*on*om xiv feta l*ang*t af
sv*er*þino, o*c* fá þ*ei*r b*an*a er f*yrir* urþo; Kári sjer þetta o*c* ryþst u*m*
fast, þ*ar* t*il* h*ann* hǫggr t*il* Hraungv*iþs* o*c* q*v*om hǫgg*it* í hjálmin*n*,
o*c* v*ar* þ*at* s*em* í vatn brygþi, e*n* er q*v*om a*t* beinino, beit e*ck*i á;
Hraungv*iþr* brosti o*c* hjó t*il* Kára; Kári ljóp í lopt upp ǫfugr aptr
á bac yf*ir* þ*ann* er nærstr stóþ, o*c* fékk sá hǫgg*it* af Hraungv*iþi* o*c*
þ*ar* t*il* b*an*a. Hraungv*iþr* m*ælir* || laung*om* flýr þú Kári, o*c* hefr þú 108v
titlínga náttúro, Kári leypr a*t* Hraungv*iþ* o*c* hǫggr á ǫxlina af mesta
abli, sva sv*er*þ*it* g*éck* í sundr und*ir* hjǫltun*om*, e*n* Hraungv*iþr* féll á
bæþi kné, o*c* spratt upp þeg*ar* o*c* m*ælir* nú kýs ec Kára f*yrir* oþdi
þ*ér*, mín góþa kesja! o*c* v*er*tú þ*ér* nú úti um rauþ*an* kyrtil, síþ*an*
lagþi h*ann* sv*er*þino f*yrir* qvid Kára, o*c* í gégn*om* h*ann*, e*n* Kári stóþ
s*em* bundin*n* v*æ*ri f*yrir* lægino, o*c* veik sér hv*or*gi, heldr féll m*eþ*
dýr*om* drengscap, v*ar*þ h*ann* m*ǫr*gom h*ar*mdauþi, þ*ví* h*ann* hafþi
hin*n* ágætasti m*aþr* v*er*it m*ed*an lifþi.

III kap*ítuli*

J þ*ess*o bili q*v*omo nú K*óng*s m*enn* af eyun*n*i m*eþ* sín*ar* viþar kylfr
s*em* fyrr er frá sagt, laupa þ*ei*r nú á scip Ol*afs* K*óngs* v*ar* þá Kári
fallin*n* o*c* Ørnólfr, h*ann* h*afþi* b*or*it m*er*ki Ol*afs* K*óngs* Hr*aungviþr*

59 óvo*r*om] ÷ L1572. 59 han*n* hleypr] og hleipr L679, hleypur hann L1572. 59 ept*ir* þ*ví*] upp L679, upp eftir því L1572. 60–61 n*ær* eþ han*n*] þá hann L679, L2404. 62 misti] hann misti L679. 62 sv*er*þ] + er Hraungvidr átti L1572. 62 f*an*st] fékkst L1572. 62–63 þ*at* er Hraungv*iþr* átti] ÷ L1572. 65 o*c*] so L679. 65 o*c*] stód og L679. 66 o*c*] ÷ L1572. 66 fá þ*ei*r b*an*a er f*yrir* urþo] feingu þeir bana er fijrir urdu L679, oc feck hann bana L2404, ÷ L1572. 68 þ*at*] ÷ L679. 68 a*t* beinino] á brinjuna L679, ad Brynionni L2404. 69 Kári] en Kári L2404. 71 þ*ar*] þad L679, ÷ L1572. 72 titlínga] titlings L679. 74 kné] knien L679. 74 o*c*] hann L679. 74 upp þeg*ar*] þegar upp L679. 76 f*yrir*] i L679. 76 í] ÷ L679. 77 v*æ*ri] ÷ L679. 78 hafþi] var L679. 79 ágætasti] vænsti L679. 79 v*er*it] ÷ L679. 79 m*ed*an] + hann L679, L1572. 1 þ*ess*o bili] þann tijma L679. 3 Ol*afs*] ÷ L679.

5. In L679 the entire phrase ‘þad var svo gött sverd ad valla fanst betra’ is in parenthesis.

b*at* Ol*af* K*óng* a*t* uppgéfast m*eþ* liþ o*c* g*an*ga sér t*il* h*an*da; e*n* K*óngr* vænti liþs o*c* tregþaþi andsv*ar* a*t* géfa. Und*an* Kóngs liþi ljóp m*aþr* heldr vascl*e*gr, hár o*c* h*er*þabreiþr, h*ann* h*afþi* síþan*n* hatt á hǫfþi, s*em* slapti of*an* f*yrir* augo han*s*, geit*ar* scégg h*afþi* h*ann* hvítgrátt o*c* m*i*cit síþt, sva þ*at* tóc á bríngo niþr, h*ann* ljóp á K*óng*s scip, o*c* þ*ar* t*il* a*t* Kári ver*þ*r f*yrir* fót*om* han*s*, þá mæ*lir* h*ann*: hv*ort* erto fallin*n* fóstbr*óþir*? o*c* finn*ast* fær*ri* þín*ir* líc*ar*, o*c* lícast t*il*, a*t* e*c* leiti han*s*, er þ*ér* hefr á þiljo kastat, litast h*ann* þá u*m*, sjer Ørnólf dauþ*an* liggja, o*c* m*ar*gt an*nat* liþ, þykist nú þ*ess*i m*aþr* vita a*t* m*er*ki K*óng*s muni niþr fall*it*, þrýfr t*il* o*c* reisti upp aptr, o*c* kall*ar* á K*óng* o*c* biþr h*ann* v*er*a glaþ*an* o*c* eggja liþit t*il* k*ar*lm*an*legr*ar* fram*m*gaungo. Ol*afr* K*óngr* m*ælir* hv*or* ert þú hin*n* m*i*cli m*aþr*? h*ann* sv*ar*ar: Hrómundr er nafn mitt,[6] o*c* er Greipss*on* Arm*aþr* yþ*ar*, o*c* v*or*om v*it* Kári lagsm*enn* o*c*
109r fóstl‖bræþr, þá v*it* heima vór*om*. K*óngr* m*ælir* ólícr sýnist o*ss* þú a*t* v*er*a fóstbróþ*ir* Kára, þ*ar* þú orþin*n* ert gamall o*c* grár af hær*om*, e*n* ef þú hefr h*an*s lagsm*aþr* v*er*it, þá manto h*an*s hefna á þ*ess*om degi. Hróm*undr* m*ælir*[7] e*ck*i v*ar* Kári hyrþm*aþr* min*n* eþr stafnbúi, e*n* þó villda e*c* a*t* mér fæ*r*i ei verr e*n* þ*ei*m er ept*ir* slíca m*enn* ega[8] a*t* mæla s*em* þ*ei*r br*æþr* v*or*o; ljóp þá Hróm*undr* á dr*ec*an Hraungviþs, h*ann* h*afþi* st*or*a gaþdakylfo í an*nar*i hendi, e*n* sv*er*þ í an*nar*i o*c* scjǫld, e*n* hjálm eng*an*, nema stálhúfo, und*ir* hattin*om*, lemr h*ann* nú o*c*

4 a*t*] ÷ L679. 4 m*eþ* liþ] + sitt L679, L2404, oc ganga med lidid L1572. 4 o*c* g*an*ga] ÷ L1572. 5 ljóp] + einn L679, L1572. 7 hvítgrátt] kvijtt L679. 8 m*i*cit síþt] sva micit L2404. 8 sva þ*at*] at L2404. 8 tóc á bríngo] á bringo tók L2404. 8 o*c*] ÷ L679. 9 a*t*] er L1572. 9 Kári] ÷ L679. 9 fót*om*] honum L2404. 9 h*an*s] + Kári daudr L679, ÷ L2404. 10 o*c*] + er L679. 10 t*il*, a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 11 þá] ÷ L679. 11 u*m*] + og L679, L2404, L1572. 11 sjer] finnur L679. 12 nú þ*ess*i m*aþr*] hann nú L2404. 12 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 12–13 niþr] ÷ L679. 13 t*il*] hann nú til þess L679. 13 reisti] reisir L679. 13 upp] þad upp L679. 15–16 nafn mitt] mitt mitt nafn L679. 16 Arm*aþr*] eirn madr L679, L2404, L1572. 16 Kári] bádir L679. 16 lagsm*enn*] + vid Kári L679. 17–18 a*t* v*er*a] vera ad þú siert L679. 18 fóstbróþ*ir*] lagsmadr L679. 18 þ*ar*] þvj L679. 18 orþin*n* ert] ert ordinn L679, L2404, ert L1572. 19 lagsm*aþr*] fostbrodir L679. 21 a*t* mér fæ*ri*] miér færist L679. 21 er] sem L679, L2404. 21 slíca m*enn*] slijkann mann L679, L2404. 21 ega] eiga L679, L1572, áttir L2404. 22 br*æþr*] fostbræþur L2404. 22 á] upp á L679. 23 scjǫld] skjólldinn L679.

6. Dittography in L679, 'mitt mitt nafn'.

7. A colon following the letter 'm' in B11109 is interpreted as an abbreviation mark, not as a punctuation mark.

8. The form 'ega' is an archaic spelling of the verb *eiga*, it can be found in OH in the 19th cent.

ber allt þat fyrir verþr meþ kylfunni, en er Hraungviþr sjer þetta, at liþ hans fellr hrǫnnom, verþr hann ákaflega reiþr, oc spyr: hvor erto þinn grái scégg brúsi, sem sva gjǫrir at drepa oc deyþa meþ lurci oc spítom, þú mant vera þinn ólukko fretkarl, faþir Kára. Hrómundr mælir hvorki er ec faþir hans, sun eþr frændi, enn þó scalto fá at frétta, at ec skal hefna þeirra bræþra, oc reyna manto kylfo mína, áþr en vit sciljom, en Hrómundr h⟨ei⟩ti ec, oc vita þykist ec, at þú ert hit versta tróll, at enginn jarn bíta á þic, oc þar fyrir hæfir þér bǫþla refsíng. Hraungviþr varþ æfar reiþr oc leypr at Hrómundi, oc ætlaþi at kjósa hann fyrir oþdi eptir vana, en Hrómundr varþ fljótari, oc sló kylfunni utan undir vangann[9] á Hraungviþ svo stort hǫgg, at hausinn brotnaþi í smá mola, en heilinn vall út, oc lac niþr sem vatn, féll þá Hraungviþr í svíma, sva hann rauc út af, at margir þeinkto hann dauþann; nú sprettr Hraungviþr á fætr aptr, oc mælir til Hrómundar[10] ec hefi víþa verit oc farit, oc margan kappa at velli lagt, oc hefi ‖ ec alldrei þvílíkt hǫgg fengit á allri minni 109v æfi, oc alldrei hefi ec þinn jafníngja fundit, oc verþr einosinni allt fyrst, féll þá niþr kesjan or hǫndom hans, lamdi Hrómundr hann meþ kylfunni til dauþs, lauc sva Hraungviþr æfi sinni. Eptir þetta var nú hrópat sigurs hróp, oc mǫnnom griþ géfin; er þat þyggja villdo, kallaþi Hrómundr til þeirra er eptir stóþo, oc spyr: hvort þeir vilji heldr kjósa at ganga á hendr Olafs Kóngs eþr at berjast [oc] villdo allir oc vel flestir heldr Kóngi til handa oc hlýþnis ganga, lauc sva bardaganom, at menn sættost.

25 þat] hvad L679, sem L2404. 27 þinn] hinn L679, L2404, L1572. 27 scégg] skeggadi L679. 27 drepa oc deyþa] deida og drepa L679. 27–28 lurci oc spítom] spijtum og lurkum L679. 28 þinn] hinn L679, ÷ L2404. 28 ólukko] vondur L2404. 29 hans] ÷ L679. 29 sun] sonr L679, L2404, L1572. 29 frændi] + hans L679. 29 fá at] þad L679. 31 vita þykist] veit L679, vita þykjumst L2404. 34 hann] ÷ L679. 34 vana] + sijnum L679. 36 en] svo L679. 36 vall út] vall úr L679, ÷ L1572. 36 oc] ÷ L1572. 37 sem vatn] ÷ L2404 37 at] svo L679, og L1572. 38 margir þeinkto] þenktu margir L1572. 40 hefi] hef L679, L2404, L1572. 41 hefi] hef L679, L2404, L1572. 41 fundit] + á æfi minni L679. 43 dauþs] + og L679. 44 sigurs hróp] sigr óp L679, sigr hróp L1572, L2404. 46 vilji heldr] vildu heldur L679, heldur vilji L2404. 46 kjósa] þiggja L679. 46 at] ÷ L679. 46 [oc]] ÷ L2404, L1572. 47 oc vel flestir] ÷ L1572. 47 heldr] ÷ L679. 47 handa oc hlýþnis] hlijdni og handa L679, handa L1572, L2404.

9. An unclear reading in L679: 'vanga' or 'varga'.

10. In B11109, there is a colon, which can introduce direct speech, but there is no abbreviation mark to denote the abbreviation of the name. In this and similar cases, the colon is treated as an abbreviation mark.

IV kap*ituli*

Um m*o*rguninn eptir fer[11] Hróm*undr* t*il* me*þ* liþi K*ó*ngs a*t* kanna scip Hraungv*iþs* oc binda of[12] sár þeirra er fall*it* hǫfþo, e*n* þó lífs voro, lítast h*ann* nú u*m*, oc of síþir finnr h*ann* einn m*ann* f*yrir* sér á drecan*om*, h*ann* sá a*t* augo h*ans* lifþo, e*n* lim*ir* hrærþost valla; þess*i* m*aþr* lá í lyptíngo. Hróm*undr* spyr: hvort þess*i* megi mæla? hinn ansaþi: lin*nir* þ*ví* sva a*t* segja. Hróm*undr* m*ælir* hvort er nafn þitt? h*ann* s*varar* Helgi h*e*iti e*c*, oc v*ar* e*c* kallaþr Helgi hinn Fræcni, oc v*ar* Hraungv*iþ* br*óþir* m*inn* sva b*ar* t*il*, a*t* v*it* borþomst v*it* Scotta f*yrir* full*om* xiv dǫg*om*, a*t* e*c* særþist sva e*c* v*ar*þ óvígr, oc hefi ec leg*it* í rec*k*jo síþ*an*, e*n* br*óþir* m*inn* b*ar* af flest*om*, oc héldt híngat, hefi e*c* lát*it* m*ic* or rec*k*jo færa m*ér* t*il* gam*an*s a*t* sjá á rǫscva m*enn* oc kémpr, jafnv*el* þótt e*c* eckért sjálfr gæti, hefr þú un*nit* h*it* v*er*sta oc óþ*ar*fasta v*er*c æfi þin*nar*, a*t* drepa Hraungviþ br*óþr* m*inn* s*em* v*ar* hin*n* vascasti m*aþr*. Hróm*undr* m*ælir* villto þyggja griþ af o*ss* eþr ekki? Helgi m*ælir* þ*at* er nú í þin*n*i hendi, e*n* heldr er e*c* n*ær* a*t* deya, e*n* þ*at* e*c* géti aldrei hefnt Hraungv*iþ* þ*ví* a*t* v*it* hǫfþ*om* h*eitit* þ*ví* hv*or*
110r ǫþr*om*, a*t* sá || scyldi ærulaus m*ann*a á m*ed*al s*em* ec*k*i hefndi, oc féll m*ér* nú t*il* þ*ess* s*em* e*c* gét ei af hǫnd*om* leyst nema e*c* græþslo fái, e*n* þ*at* læt e*c* þ*ér* ódul*it*, a*t* ef e*c* næ lífi a*t* halda, þá sk*al* e*c* ec*k*i láta br*æþr* þína v*er*þa elli dauþa. Hróm*undr* t*óc* a*t* undrast orþ Helga, e*n*[13] h*ann* flakti allr af sár*om* í sundr. þá m*ælir* Hróm*undr* þin*nar* hreysti scalto njóta, en*n* ec*k*i heitstrengíng*ar*, oc ávin*n*st þ*at* s*em* auþn*an* leyf*ir*; v*ar* Helgi t*ecinn* oc lækna þr, oc lét Hróm*undr* h*ann* h*it* besta viþrv*æ*ri fá

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2 of] um L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 3 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 3 f*yrir* sér] ÷ L679. 5 lyptíngo] + á drekanum L679. 6 lin*nir* þ*ví*] eij er þad L679. 6 m*ælir*] spir L679, L1572. 8 v*it* Scotta] ÷ L679. 9 f*yrir* full*om* xiv dǫg*om*] vid skotta L679. 12 þótt] þo L679. 12 eckért sjálfr gæti] gjæti eckert sjalfr L679. 12 v*er*sta oc] ÷ L679. 16 géti aldrei hefnt] hefni alldrei L679. 16 hǫfþ*om*] hófum L679, L1572. 18 nú t*il* þ*ess*] þad nú til L679, L1572, nú til þad L2404. 19 a*t*] ÷ L679. 20 v*er*þa elli dauþa] elli dauda verda L679. 20 e*n*] er L679, L2404, því L1572. 21 allr] sundr L679. 21 í sundr] ÷ L679. 21 þin*nar* hreysti] hreisti þinnar L679. 23 h*it*] þad L679, L1572.

11. The scribe of B11109 uses the same abbreviation mark for 'eptir' and 'fer', both expanded following the written-out forms from the manuscript.

12. The scribe's 'a"s and 'o"s resemble each other closely in B11109, so it could be 'af' or 'of'; the reading 'of' is more probable in this context.

13. The word is abbreviated in L1572, and its expansion is uncertain, might be 'því' or 'þar'.

þ*ar* t*il* a*t* h*ann* v*ar* fullgróin*n*, lícr hér nú af h*ono*m a*t* segja fyrst a*t*
sin*n*i. Ept*ir* allt þetta lætr Ol*afr* K*óngr* leysa upp scip sín, o*c* halda
austr í haf, o*c* sva þ*aþ*an f*yrir* Svíþjóþ, t*ac*a þ*ei*r sér víþa strandhǫgg,
ræna fé, e*n* h*er*ja á m*enn* oc bren*n*a bæi, ept*ir* Vícínga ˋvenjoˊ, sva
víþa spurþist til þ*ei*rra st*orver*ca.

V kap*ítuli*

J þen*nan* tíma réþo f*yrir* Svíaveldi ij Kóng*ar*, sem Hálfdán*ar* h*ie*to,
er þetta g*jǫr*þist, sigl*ir* þá Ol*afr* K*óngr* t*il* Eyar þ*eirr*a*r* s*em* Mána Ey
er kǫlluþ, hún liggr í suþreya hafi, þ*ang*a*t* lét K*óngr* halda scip*om*
sín*om* á eino qvǫldi, þ*ar* g*en*go þ*ei*r á l*an*d, uppá eina fagra eyri, o*c*
litast u*m*, o*c* sjá e*ck*ert þ*at* m*arcver*þugt kalla má, g*an*ga þá K*óng*s
m*enn* lengra á Eyuna, o*c* í þ*ess*o sjá þ*ei*r ein*n* gamlan*n* m*ann* q*v*oma
á veg f*yrir* þá, heylsa þ*ei*r á h*ann*, o*c* spyrja a*t* nafni, e*n* h*ann* sagþist
Máni h*ei*ta, e*n* hv*orjir* erot þér? þ*ei*r qv*aþ*ost v*era* m*enn* Ol*afs* K*óngs*
K*arl* m*ælir* hv*ar* t*il* er Ol*afr* K*óngr* hing*at* q*v*omin*n*? þ*ei*r s*egja* h*ann*
er hin*n* ágætasti K*óngr* af Sækóng*om*, o*c* lætr abla sér o*c* m*ǫ*nnom
sín*om* fjár o*c* frægþar. K*arl* m*ælir* lítil frægþ er þ*at* slíc*om* m*ann*i
s*em* Ol*afr* K*óngr* er sagþr, a*t* h*ann* sculi láta féfletta vesælínga o*c*
fátæca ‖ o*c* hitt er l*angt*o*m* n*ær* líkind*om* a*t* f*ara* á mót Vícíng*om* 110v
s*em* hér liggja hino megin*n* ey*ar*inn*ar*, o*c* reyna v*it* þá, heldur e*n*
a*t* g*jǫ*ra mér tjón eþr scaþa; þ*ess*ir vita allt af yþr, o*c* h*afa* í ráþi, a*t*
t*ac*a af yþr scipin o*c* all*an* far*ar* beina, þ*ví* þ*ei*r e*ro* hin*ir* v*er*sto m*enn*
o*c* h*er*vícíng*ar*, o*c* h*afa* þ*ei*r fal*it* hér fé á l*an*di, t*il* hv*ors* e*c* kyn*ni*

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24 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 24 af] fijrst frá L679. 24–25 fyrst a*t* sin*n*i] ÷ L679, fyrst at segia L2404. 25 allt] ÷ L679. 25 halda] + sijdann L679, heldr L2404. 26 víþa strandhǫgg] strandhógg vijda L679. 27 sva] og L679. 1 Kóng*ar*] kongasynir fyrir Svíjaveldi L2404. 1 sem] er L679, oc L2404. 1 Hálfdán*ar* h*ie*to] hietu Hálfdánar hverotveggio L2404. 2 er þetta g*jǫr*þist] ÷ L1572. 2 s*em*] er L679, L2404, L1572. 3 þ*ang*a*t*] + til L679. 4 uppá eina fagra eyri] upp L679. 5 sjá] + þar L679, sáu L1572. 5 þ*at*] ÷ L679, hvad L1572. 5 kalla] ÷ L679. 5 má] ÷ L679, L2404, mætti L1572. 5 þá] þeir L2404. 6 ein*n*] ÷ L679. 6 q*v*oma] ganga L679. 7 á h*ann*] honum L2404. 7 e*n*] ÷ L2404. 7 sagþist] kvadst L679, qvad L2404. 8 h*ei*ta] heiti L679. 8 K*óngs*] kongi L679. 9 hv*ar* t*il*] til kvórs L679, L2404, L1572. 9 Ol*afr*] ÷ L679. 10 K*óngr* af Sækóng*om*] sækongr L679, kongr L2404. 10–11 o*c* m*ǫ*nnom sín*om*] ÷ L679. 11 frægþar] frægþa L2404. 12 láta] ÷ L679. 13 fátæca] + menn L679. 13 o*c*] ÷ L679, enn L1572. 13 l*angt*o*m*] ÷ L679. 13 mót] móti L2404, mots L1572. 15 eþr] og L679. 15 vita] hafa vitad L679. 16 þ*ví* þ*ei*r e*ro*] ero þeir L1572. 17 o*c*] ÷ L679. 17 fal*it* hér] falid L679, herfalid L1572. 17–18 kyn*ni* a*t*] kann L679.

at segja, ef vin*ir* mín*ir* vær*o*t. Hróm*undr* stendr nú upp v*it* scipin, þ*ví* h*ann* h*a*ſþ*i* ec*k*i á l*an*d g*engit*, þykist h*ann* heyra m*ann*a mál, o*c* hinomegin*n* Ey*ar*in*nar* væ*r*o Vícíng*ar*, g*en*gr h*ann* á l*an*d t*il* K*óng*s m*ann*a, o*c* spyr a*t*: hv*or* er sá kratt*ans* k*ar*l, s*em* a*t* lýgr o*c* n*arrar* o*ss*? þ*ei*r s*egja* h*ono*m slíct er visso. Hróm*undr* s*egir* hvaþa scòm*m* er þetta, þér látit þen*n*an*n* ganta yþr. Máni sv*arar* þ*at* er l*angtom* betra f*yrir* góþa m*enn* a*t* hjálpa vesæl*om* mȯ*nnom*, e*n* a*t* hrakyrþa þá, o*c* níþa niþr í orþ*om*, o*c* betra þyc*ir* þ*ei*m sum*om* hv*orjom* a*t* ræna m*ic*; sjá*it* þ*at* ec*k*i a*t* þ*ei*r f*ara* þ*ar* m*eþ* kýr mín*ar*, sva e*c* má bj*argar*laus ept*ir* v*era*, í þ*essom* kotbæ, er e*c* uppbyggt hefi á eyo þ*ess*ari, þykist ec nú vita, a*t* þér munduþ vilja slíct eyrindi ega, at ræna m*ic* grip*om* o*c* gagnssemd*om*, e*n* e*c* hygg þ*at* sæmil*e*gra f*yrir* þ*ic* Hróm*undr* o*c* þína líca, a*t* fást v*it* nokkr st*or*vyrci, sva frægþ o*c* f*or*prís megi afg*an*ga. Hróm*undr* mælir t*il* hv*orra* st*or* ræþa vís*ar* þú o*ss*? Máni sv*arar* Þráin*n* h*i*et m*aþr*, h*ann* v*ar* h*it* allra v*er*sta galdra trȯll, fullr fjȯlcíngis o*c* fj*an*dscap*ar*, h*ann* h*er*jaþi á Saxl*an*d[14] o*c* v*ann* þ*at* m*eþ* gȯldr*om*, o*c* v*ar*þ þ*ar* síþ*an* K*óng*r; h*ann* átti ofrnægþ[15] af gulli o*c* sylfri o*c* ȯþr*om* dýrgrip*om*; h*ann* héldt m*ar*ga b*ers*erci o*c* blám*enn*, s*em* þ*at* hȯfþo t*il* scémtun*ar* sér, at glíma v*it* scóg*ar*eykr o*c* Fíla, o*c* jamn*an* v*or*o þ*ei*r m*eþ* K*ong*i, þ*ar* t*il* h*ann* deyþi, drógo þ*ei*r h*ann* þá á scóg, o*c* urpo haug yfir, o*c* léto h*ann* í hauginn, o*c* gull þ*at* er h*ann* átti; þ*ei*r þȯkto h*ann* gullhríngum, spen*n*to fagort ⸌men⸍ a*t*
111r hálsi h*an*s, e*n* sv*er*þ lȯgþo þ*ei*r í h*an*s ‖ kné; m*ar*g*ir* m*enn* o*c* kémpr h*afa* reynt s*ic* v*it* a*t* g*an*ga í hauginn, e*n* Þráin*n* er ramr draugr, a*t*

18 nú] ÷ L679. 18 scipin] skipid L679. 20 væ*r*o] lego L2404, væri L1572. 21 a*t*] svo L679. 22 o*ss*] ockr L679. 22 er] + þeir L679. 22 s*egir* hvaþa] ÷ L2404. 23 þetta] þad ad L679, þad L2404. 23 þér] þid L679. 23 þen*nan*n] hann L679. 23 yþr] ockr L679. 25 o*c* níþa] ÷ L679, L2404. 25 betra] litit L2404. 26 ræna] fiefletta L679. 26 a*t*] hvar L1572. 27 ept*ir*] ÷ L2404. 27 uppbyggt hefi] hefi uppbigt L679. 28 vilja] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 29 o*c* gagnssemd*om*] ÷ L2404. 30 sva] sem nockur L679. 32 v*er*sta] mesta L679. 33 Saxl*an*d] Valland L679. 34 v*ar*þ] var L679. 34 K*óng*r] + yfir L679. 34 ofrnægþ] ofur gnægd L679, L2404, L1572. 35–36 b*ers*erci o*c* blám*enn*] blá-menn og berserki L1572. 36 scóg*ar*eykr] eikr L679. 37 þ*ei*r] + brædur L2404. 37 þ*ar* t*il*] þá L1572. 37 deyþi] dó L2404. 38 h*ann* þá á] á hann L1572. 38 scóg] skogien L679. 38 yfir] + hann L679. 38 þ*at*] ÷ L2404. 39 gull-hríngum] + og L679, L2404. 40 h*an*s] honum L679, L2404. 40 e*n* sv*er*þ lȯgþo] oc lögþo sverþ L2404. 40 þ*ei*r í h*an*s] i L2404. 40 kné] + hans L2404. 40 kémpr] kappar L2404. 41 v*it*] til L679, ÷ L1572.

14. Note that L679 agrees here with the *rímur*, which read 'Valland'.

15. Note that a better reading is in L679, L2404, and L1572 than in B11109.

h*ann* rífr af mǫn*nom* hold o*c* klæþi, o*c* engv*ir* q*v*omost þaþ*an* lífs er þ*an*gat foro. Hróm*undr* spy*r* hvort í átt vís*ar* þú o*ss* t*il* þes*s*a haugs? K*ar*l s*egir* þér sculot sigla héþ*an* í suþr í vj dægr, o*c* þá manot þ*it* finn*a* þyccv*ann* scóg o*c* dym*mann*; v*it* þ*ann* scóg er v*ant* a*t* ver*a* kyrt o*c* brimleysa, þ*ar* stendr haugr Þráins. Nú f*yrir* þ*at* s*em* e*c* hefi sagt þér, þá legg t*il* mín góþ orþ, a*t* e*c* nái aptr kýr tetr*om* mín*om*. Hróm*undr* g*jǫ*rir sva, a*t* h*ann* kall*ar* t*il* þeirra er kýrn*ar* teymdo, o*c* seg*ir* þ*ei*m a*t* láta þ*ær* af hendi þ*ei*m er ætti, e*n* vin*n*a an*n*at m*ann*dóms sticci mercilegra. Þeir g*jǫ*rþo sva s*em* Hróm*undr* villdi ver*a* láta, g*en*gu nú hv*orj*ir leiþ*ir* sínar. Máni k*ar*l q*v*om heim, o*c* þócti vænt om, a*t* friþr v*ar* fenginn, e*n* Hróm*undr* o*c* K*óng*s m*enn* g*en*go t*il* scipa sin*n*a, o*c* sǫgþo frá Mána k*ar*li.

VI kap*ituli*

Nú undo m*enn* á segl, oc héldo t*il* suþors fulla 6 daga ept*ir* þ*ví* s*em* Máni k*ar*l h*afþi* s*agt* þ*ei*m, a*t* þ*ei*r sáo mǫrg ann*es*, o*c* þar ept*ir* slétt*an* scóg, dym*man* o*c* þyccv*ann*, þ*ar* sjá þ*ei*r m*ic*it rjóþr, o*c* n*orþan* und*ir* þ*ví* m*ic*in*n* o*c* ramg*jǫ*rþ*an* hól eþr haug, s*em* v*ar* bæþi hár o*c* fagr. Hróm*undr* mæl*ir* t*il* K*óng*s m*ann*a: hér scul*om* vér u*m*búast o*c* sjá o*ss* om, o*c* leggja scip v*or* t*il* lægis, e*n* gaungum á l*an*d, o*c* leit*om* a*t* Þráin*n*, þ*ar* h*ann* hefr no*c*ro a*t* miþla; þ*ei*r qváþo já v*it*, o*c* s*ǫgþo* Hróm*undr* ráþa scyldi. Þ*ei*r qveþja K*óng* leyfis o*c* g*ang*a á l*an*d, þ*ar* t*il* haugurin*n* nálgast þ*ei*m, lyst*ir* þá á móti þ*ei*m sva m*ic*illi ólyct, a*t* þ*ei*m réþi aptr a*t* snúa; lét þá Hróm*undr* fólc sitt draga grímr á sic, o*c* m*eþ* svodd*an* hætti q*v*omost þ*ei*r t*il* haugsins, sýndist þ*ei*m h*ann* þá allr í ein*om* loga. Hróm*undr* b*at* þá e*ck*i géfa

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43 foro] komu L679. 43 hvort í] i hvórja L679. 44 þér] þid L679. 44 í] ÷ L679, L2404. 44 þit] þér L2404. 45 vant at vera] optast L679. 46 brimleysa] brimleisi L1572. 47 mín] þijn L679, L2404, L1572. 48 er] + med L1572. 48 teymdo] leiddu L679, fóru L1572. 49 en] og L2404. 50 sva] ÷ L2404. 51 leiþir sínar] leid sijna L679, L1572. 51 qvom] for L1572. 1 héldo til] sigldu i L1572. 1 suþors fulla] sudr fjalla L679, sudr full L1572. 1 daga] dægr L1572. 2 hafþi] + fyrir L679. 2 þeim] ÷ L679. 2 at þeir sáo] sáu þeir L1572. 2 mǫrg annes, oc þar eptir] ÷ L679. 3 slétt*an*] ÷ L1572. 3 norþan] nordr L2404, L1572. 4 oc] ÷ L679, L2404. 4 ramgjǫrþan] ramgjörfann L679, ÷ L2404. 5 vér] vid L679, L2404. 6 lægis] lags L679, lagis L1572. 7 at Þráinn] Þráins L679, L2404. 9 sva] ÷ L679, L2404. 10 micilli ólyct] fijlu L679. 10 at] svo L679. 10–11 fólc sitt draga] draga liþ sitt L2404. 11 grímr á sic] á sig grijmr L679. 12 þá] ÷ L679

s*ic* a*t* glæríng*om* þ*essom*[16]; tóco þá m*enn* a*t* róta u*m* hauginn[17], oc
111v || fengo ei á leiþis q*v*om*it*, fyrr e*n* á hin*om* jv degi, þá q*v*omo þ*eir*
ein*om* glugga á h*ann*, sáo þ*eir* þá ein*n* f*or*kunnar stór*an* B*erser*c, h*ann*
v*ar* bæþi blár o*c* sv*art*r, digr o*c* dramblætisfullr, h*ann* sat á stóli af
rauþa gulli, o*c* v*ar* klæþdor gyllt*om* búnaþi; f*yrir* nǫs*om* h*ans* stóþ
eitt st*ort* glóþ*ar* kér af log*an*di eldi, í þ*ann* eld blés Þráin*n* af megni,
sva at logan*n* lagþi t*il* ræfors om hauginn; sv*er*þ hékk[18] scamt frá
h*on*om, þ*ví*líkt hǫfþo þ*eir* alldrei sjeþ, þ*at* v*ar* bæþi breiþt o*c* l*ang*t,
o*c* allt gullin scépt, skálpr þ*ess* v*ar* af sylfri, blaþit v*ar* af gresj*ar*ni,
o*c* m*argir* góþ*ir* gimstein*ar* í smeldir, þ*eir* h*ar*þast*ir* fengist hǫfþo,
sva s*em* dem*an*t o*c* m*ar*m*ar*i, ásamt fleyri, þó hér séo e*ck*i nefnd*ir*.
Þráin*n* h*afþi* fásjeþ gullmen á hálsi sér o*c* b*or*þ m*eþ* ǫll*om* búnaþi stóþ
f*yrir* knjám hǫn*om* m*eþ* kræst*om* rétt*om*; h*ann* r*ac* up*p* st*ort* hljóþ sva
m*icit* o*c* digurt, a*t* Hróm*undi* o*c* mǫ*nnom* h*ans* blǫskraþi, þeg*ar* þ*eir*
bruto gatit á hauginn, o*c* byrtuna af degin*om* lagþí í hauginn; h*ann*
kall*ar* út t*il* K*óng*s man*n*a o*c* spyr: hv*orjir* e*ro* þ*eir* fúlo f*antar* s*em*
g*an*ga á hús mitt, o*c* scém*m*a þ*at* f*yrir* mér saclaus*om*, gǫmlo*m* o*c*
gráhærþ*om*, o*c* lítit hafit þ*it* t*il* scémtun*ar* veslíng*ar* a*t* sæcja á min*n*
fund, eþa hv*or* er sá þ*ar* úti stendr, s*em* vill t*il* vin*n*a, a*t* q*v*oma in*n* t*il*
mín, o*c* njóta þ*eir*ra þriggja dýrgripa er til hefi betsta a*t* bjóþa, s*em*
a*t* e*ro*: sv*er*þ*it* Mistilteinn o*c* Menit á hálsi mín*om*, ásamt hin*n* góþi
Gullhríngr, er e*c* lengst æfi min*nar* átt hefi, þyci mér líc*l*egast, at
Olafr K*óngr* egi sva á mǫ*nnom* vǫl, a*t* einhv*or* t*il* reyni. Hróm*undr*

13 þ*essom*] þeim L679. 13 þá m*enn*] menn þá L1572. 13 róta u*m*] bríóta L2404. 13 hauginn] haugum L679. 14 á leiþis] alldeilis L679. 14 jv] sjótta L679. 15 þá] ÷ L2404. 15 stór*an*] vænan L679. 17 gyllt*om* búnaþi] raudum búnadi gilltum L679. 18 st*ort*] fullt L679, ÷ L2404, L1572. 18 log*an*di] glöandi L679. 19 at] ÷ L679. 19 logan*n*] loga L679. 19 hékk] fieck L679. 20 alldrei] + fijrr L679. 21 gullin] gull L1572. 21 v*ar*] ÷ L679. 22 góþ*ir*] ÷ L1572. 22 þ*eir*] + sem L1572. 23 fleyri] fleirum L679. 23 þó] + at L2404. 24 gullmen] gull L679. 25 r*ac*] + þá L679. 25 sva] og L679. 26 o*c*] ÷ L679. 26 m*ǫnnom* h*ans*] hans mónnum L679. 27 bruto] rifu L1572. 27 gatit á] upp L679. 27 í hauginn] inn L1572. 29 á] ÷ L2404. 29 mitt] min L1572. 29 þ*at*] ÷ L1572. 30 veslíng*ar*] ÷ L1572. 31 s*em*] er L2404. 31 vill] + þad L2404. 32 til] eg L679, L2404. 32 hefi] til L2404. 32 betsta] best L679, L2404. 33 e*ro*] er L679. 33 góþi] goda L679. 34 Gullhríngr] gúllhring L679. 34 líc*l*egast] liklegt L1572.

16. The word is abbreviated in L679, and the same abbreviation is used three lines above for 'þeim'.

17. The word is abbreviated in L679 and the expansion 'haugu*m*' is uncertain.

18. Dittography in L2404, 'heck'.

mælir þat máttú fyrir satt halda, at ef Kári hefþi lifat, mundi ec[19] til vogat hafa, at finna þic, þar sem þú hefr gǫfugr hǫfþíngi haldinn verit, oc sýna ⸌fáir⸍ svoþdan hýbýla ‖ rausn oc príþiheit, sva sem hér 112r
er at scoþa, oc sacir tignar þinnar, manto leyfa mér at qvoma fyrir
40 kné yþar, sva ec megi ei ofsǫgom af segja þinni géstrisni. Þráinn mælir fleyri sóctu mic heim forþom, þegar Lxij menn veitto mér ásteytíng meþ ráni oc róti á hús kofa mínom, oc fengo þeir lítit til ábata. Vera má segir Hrómundr at nú tacist betr til, oc vyrþist ríflegra at gjǫra vel vit einn gést, heldr en greiþa kostnaþ sva mǫrgom, oc
45 skal ec nú fyrstr til verþa; lét þá Hrómundr binda sic í festi, oc sje sva niþr í haugin, oc bat áþr menn sína at gjæta vel festarinnar, oc ecki frá renna, þó þeir kynno at heyra noccot vofeiflegt, at þeir léto sér þat ei blǫskra. En sem Hrómundr kémr í haugin, verþr hann þá sva dymmr af ógérþar fýlo oc reyc, at Hrómundr verþr at þreifa fyrir
50 sér, finnr hann þá marga góþa dýrgripi og gullhrínga. Hrómundr batt þat í festina, oc lét uppdraga, fann hann þar ofr gnægþ margra fásjeþra hluta.

VII kapituli

Nú sem Hrómundr var at láta gripina í festina, tóc Þráinn til at mæla oc segir stor hugaþr erto Hrómundr at grípa frá mér þat ec á, verþ ec nú at gjalda elli minnar, en þegar ec var úngr, hefþir þú ecki rænt mic sva stórom þegar ec vann allt Vallands meþ fjǫlcíngi oc gǫldrom,
5 oc marga Konga oc Kónga syni lagþi ec at velli, en þegar á mic færþist

36 ec] hann hafa L679, hann L2404, L1572. 37 til] ÷ L1572. 37 hafa] ÷ L679. 37 gǫfugr hǫfþíngi] göfigr maþr L2404. 38 sýna ⸌fáir⸍] fáir sijna L679, L2404, L1572. 38 hýbýla] + prídi og L1572. 38 oc príþiheit] ÷ L2404, L1572. 39 leyfa] lofa L679, L2404. 40 yþar] þijn L679, L1572. 40 af segja] segja af L679. 42 ráni oc róti] röti og ráni L679. 42 hús kofa] húsum L679. 42 oc] en L2404. 42 þeir] þo L679, L2404. 43 ríflegra] riflega L679. 44 at gjǫra vel vit einn gést] vid eirn giest ad gjóra L679. 44 greiþa] giora L1572. 45 oc] ÷ L679. 46 áþr] ÷ L679. 46 at] ádr L679. 47 þó] + at L2404. 47 kynno at heyra] heirdi L679. 47 at þeir] og L679. 49 dymmr] + og fullr L679, L2404, L1572. 49 ógérþar] ÷ L1572. 49 oc reyc] ÷ L1572. 49 Hrómundr] hann L1572. 50 góþa dýrgripi og] dijrgripi og goda L679, L2404, L1572. 51 þat] fed L1572. 51 lét] + þad L679. 51 þar] + var L2404. 52 fásjeþra] fásiedna L679, fáséþnra L2404. 52 hluta] gripa L2404. 2 Hrómundr] ÷ L679. 2 frá] fyrir L679, L2404. 2 ec] ÷ L2404. 4 sva] ÷ L679, L1572. 4 fjǫlcíngi oc gǫldrom] gólldrum og fiólkingi L679. 5 lagþi ec at velli] hef eg ad velli lagt L679.

19. Note that better readings are in L679, L2404, and L1572 than in B11109.

alldurin*n* létst e*c* deya, v*ar* e*c* lifandi í þen*nann* haug látin*n*, o*c* síþ*an*
hef e*c* hér lifat v*it* sjón á grip*om* þ*essom* s*em* þú hripsar frá mér,
s*em* an*nar* þjófr. Hrómu*ndr* m*ælir* fleyr`a´ ver*þ*r a*t* vin*n*a e*n* gott
112v þyc*ir*, o*c* sva f*er* mér, þyc*ir* sá laung*om* no*ck*ro nýtor ‖ er vin*n*r
t*il* fæþis. Þá m*ælir* Þráin*n*: haf þú ec*k*i spott í fram*m*i v*it* m*ic* gam-
lan*n*, þó a*t* þú sért úngr á bein*om*, þá þ*o*ri e*c* samt a*t* `kalla þig þjóf
a*t*´ gótsi míno. Þesso reiþdist Hrómu*ndr* oc ljóp a*t* Þráin*n*, e*n* h*ann*
t*óc* á móti af megni. Þá m*ælir* Hrómu*ndr* nú þ*arf* ec*k*i f*yrir* a*t* þre-
ifast, o*c* má sér e*n* þá no*ck*ot hússbóndin*n*. Já, s*egir* Þráin*n*, þó a*t* e*c*
sé orþin*n* gamall, þá scalto ec*k*i, búo hundurin*n* þin*n*! b*er*a fé frá
mér o*c* ræna m*ic* at gamni þíno, o*c* v*el* f*er* þ*at* þú kaup*ir* fullo, a*t*
þú hefr mic heimsóct, o*c* ómaca*t* m*ic* or sæti míno, o*c* víst scalto
mega sjá v*it* mér dauþ*om*, þó a*t* þú sért lif*an*di, o*c* t*il* no*ck*ors vilda
e*c* þér kjæmi fjǫldi gullhrínga min*n*a, s*em* þér meþ sv*er*þi míno mest
í augo g*an*ga. Hrómu*ndr* s*egir* v*it* sculo*m* þessi f*an*gbrǫgþ leica f*yrir*
ut*an* sv*er*þ o*c* scjǫldo. Ec ætli sva mani betst f*ar*a s*egir* Þráin*n*, a*t* þér
mani lítil fremd í a*t* vega a*t* mér; t*óc* þá Þráin*n* a*t* blása eldi or kétil
kérino s*em* stóþ f*yrir* ho*no*m, tindraþist þá login*n* á mill*om* þ*eir*ra o*c*
om haugin*n*, sva byrti, þá sá Hrómu*ndr* hv*ar* st*or* kétill stóþ f*yrir*
fót*om* sér, o*c* v*ar* fullr af búk*om* m*ann*a; þat þóctist h*am*n vita a*t*
Þráin*n* mundi vilja kippa sér í þen*n*an*n* kétil, héldost þ*eir* í henþr,
o*c* toguþost yf*ir* om kétilin*n*, þá fan*n* Hrómu*ndr* a*t* Þráin*n* h*afþi* ec*k*i
nýl*e*ga sc*o*rit af sér nǫglurn*ar*, þær krepptost of*an* f*yrir* gómana. Þá
m*ælir* Þráin*n*: lofa manto mér a*t* t*a*ca mér mun*n*bita áþr v*it* glímom.
V*er*a má þ*at* s*egir* Hrómu*ndr* J þ*ví* greip Þráin*n* kétilin*n* o*c* fleygþi a*t*

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6 alldurin*n*] ellinn L679. 7 hér] ÷ L679. 7 þ*essom*] mijnum L679, L2404, minum þessum L1572. 7 hripsar] + nu L679. 8 vin*n*a] gióra L679, L1572. 9 o*c*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 9 f*er*] verþr L2404. 9 no*ck*ro] ÷ L679. 9 er] sem L2404, L1572. 10 í] ÷ L679. 11 a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 12 h*ann*] Þráinn L679. 13 á] i L679, L1572. 14 e*n* þá] ÷ L679, L2404. 15 búo] bú L679, búe L2404, ÷ L1572. 15 hundurin*n* þin*n*] hundr L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 16 at gamni þíno] ÷ L2404. 16 þ*at*] ad L679, þat at L2404, L1572. 17 mic heimsóct] fúndid mig L679. 20 s*egir*] mælir L679, L2404, L1572. 21 ætli] ætla L679, L2404, L1572. 21 þér] ei L1572. 22 í] ÷ L679, L2404. 23 tindraþist] tindradi L679. 23 login*n*] logann L679. 23 á] i L2404. 23 mill*om*] milli L679. 23 o*c*] ÷ L679. 24–25 f*yrir* fót*om* sér, o*c* v*ar*] ÷ L2404. 25 h*am*n] Hromundr L679. 26 Þráin*n*] hann L679. 26 þen*n*an*n* kétil] hann L679. 26 þ*eir*] + þá L679. 27 o*c* toguþost] og togast L1572, ÷ L679. 27 om] ÷ L679. 27 ec*k*i] ÷ L2404. 28 nýl*e*ga] ÷ L679, L2404. 28 sc*o*rit af sér] af ser skorid L1572, ÷ L2404. 28 nǫglurn*ar*] + þvj L679, neglur L2404. 29 áþr] + enn L679, L2404, L1572. 30 Hrómu*ndr*] + og L679.

Hróm*undi* e*n* h*ann* brá v*it* o*c* und*an*; í þ*ví* ljóp Þr*áinn* a*t* Hróm*undi* o*c* m*ælir* nú man mál a*t* géfa upp a*t* b*or*þa, o*c* g*an*ga t*il* vin*n*o, þá dym*m*di sva koldȯct v*ar*þ í haugn*om*; þá fleygþi Hróm*undr* sv*er*þino, oc vildi liþugr v*er*a. Þetta sá ‖ Þráin*n* o*c* kippti kȯmp*om* o*c* ljóp a*t* 113r
Hróm*undi*, o*c* f*ær*þi han*n* í lopt upp, e*n* h*ann* q*v*om fót*om* kjænl*ega* und*ir* s*ic*, sva h*ann* féll eigi, e*n* t*óc* þó allst*er*cl*ega* á móti. Þá m*ælir* Þráin*n*: e*ck*i erto m*enn*scr m*aþr* a*t* þú stendr. Þúsund m*enn*ri ertú, s*egir* Hróm*undr* o*c* hefr þú frægr m*aþr* v*er*it á úng*om* alldri. Litl*ar* sjást[20] þ*ess* menj*ar*, s*egir* Þráin*n*; t*óc* þá Þráin*n* at f*ær*ast í auca ablssíns, sva Hróm*undr* þóktist þurfa a*t* neyta orco sin*nar*, g*éck* þá upp allt hv*aþ* f*yrir* v*ar*d bæþi tré o*c* grjót, ásamt aþr*ir* lut*ir*, hv*or*jo nafni s*em* h*ie*to, v*or*o þá h*ar*þ*ar* sveiflr, e*n* stund*om* hriggspen*n*r, ýmist blés Þráin*n* eldi eþr eitraþri spýu úr kjapti sér, o*c* stund*om* héldt h*ann* tȯn*nom* í axl*ir* Hróm*und*a*r* en*n* stund*om* reif h*ann* m*eþ* nȯgl*om* s*em* kȯttr; v*it* þetta h*er*dti Hróm*undr* sva h*on*om ⸌tóc⸍ lítt a*t* fin*n*ast t*il* átekta Þráins, lét h*ann* þá draugin*n* sæcja, e*n* v*ar*þist sjálfr fȯll*om*. Þat fan*n* Þráin*n*, o*c* m*ælir* betr mátto adhafast, ef þú scalt fá gull mitt. Já, s*egir* Hróm*undr* o*c* brá v*it* h*ar*dt, sva Þráin*n* féll á an*n*at knéþ. St*er*cr m*aþr* erto s*egir* Þráin*n*, at fella m*ic* á ȯþr*om* fæti, gaml*ann* o*c* styrþ*an* frá eldin*om*[21], o*c* man láta a*t* líc*om* a*t* qvȯlda taci. Statto upp aptr s*egir* Hróm*undr* o*c* tvisv*ar* v*er*þr gamall m*aþr* b*ar*n, o*c* sva fer þér nú, o*c* aldrei hefþi e*c* m*ic* híngat ómacat v*it* b*ar*n a*t* glíma, hefþi e*c* þetta vitat, o*c* hefr Máni k*ar*l ílla a*t* mér logit, a*t* þú v*æ*rir h*it* v*er*sta

31 v*it* o*c*] sér L679. 31 und*an*; í þ*ví* ljóp] liop i þvi undan þá veþr L2404, undan oc i þvi hliop L1572. 32 m*ælir*] ÷ L2404. 33 sva] + ad L679. 33 koldȯct] koldimt L679. 35 han*n*] ÷ L2404. 35 fót*om* kjænl*ega*] kjænlega fötum L679. 36–37 Þá m*ælir* Þráin*n*] Þráinn mælir L679. 37 m*enn*scr m*aþr*] menskum manni lijkr L679. 37 m*enn*ri] meiri L679, L1572. 38 úng*om*] unga L679. 39 t*óc* þá] tok hann þá L679, toku þeir L2404. 39 Þráin*n*] ÷ L679. 40–41 upp allt hv*aþ*] upp þat L2404, allt upp er L1572. 41 f*yrir*] + þeim L679. 41–42 ásamt aþr*ir* lut*ir*, hv*or*jo nafni s*em* h*ie*to] ÷ L2404, L1572. 42 sveiflr] sviptingar L1572. 42 e*n*] og L679, L2404. 42 stund*om*] ÷ L2404. 44 í] yfir L679. 44–45 m*eþ* nȯgl*om* s*em* kȯttr] sem kóttr med nóglunum L679. 45 h*on*om] sic enn L2404. 45 a*t* fin*n*ast t*il*] til at finnaz L2404. 46 Þráins] þeira L679. 47 adhafast] hafast L679. 47 scalt] villt L1572. 48 sva] + at L2404. 48 an*n*at knéþ] bædi knien L679. 49 á] ÷ L679. 49 gaml*ann* o*c* styrþ*an*] stirþan oc gamlan L2404. 50 eldin*om*] elli órum L1572. 52 hefþi] hef L679. 52 híngat] ÷ L679. 52 b*ar*n] bórn L679, L2404, L1572. 53 a*t* mér logit] logied ad mier L679.

20. An uncertain reading in L1572: ‘tiást’ or ‘fiást’.

21. An error in L1572, ‘ór*um*’ probably fo ‘árum’, rather than ‘örum’. The scribe normally uses ‘ȯ’ for ‘ö’.

galdra trǫll. V*er*a má a*t* ei sé allt log*it*, s*egir* Þráin*n*, e*n* heyri e*c* a*t*
fry*ar* þú mér, o*c* skal nú uppst*an*da, m*eþ* þ*ví* á dagin*n* er liþit,[22] o*c* 55
113v dym*m*a te*c*or í haugi mín*om*. Af þ*ess*o þóttist Hróm*undr* ‖ ráþa, a*t*
Þráin*n* m*un*di v*er*ri v*er*a u*m* nætr e*n* u*m* daga, o*c* t*il* þ*ess* m*un*di h*ann*
tím*ann* dreg*it* h*afa*, t*ac*ast þ*ei*r nú á aptr engo síþr e*n* fyrri, sva allt
hlaut upp a*t* g*an*ga þ*at* f*yrir* v*ar*þ, gnísti þá Þráin*n* tǫn*nom*, beit o*c*
reif og beljaþi s*em* graþúngor, sva ǫskr h*an*s heyrþo þ*ei*r s*em* úti hjá 60
staþd*ir* v*or*o, skálf þá allr haugorin*n*, s*em* á h*or*þræþi léci, yf*ir*gáfo
þ*ei*r þá festina af ótta, o*c* villdo f*or*þa sjálf*om* sér, t*óc* a*t* qv*o*ma a*t* þ*ví*,
a*t* eptir v*ar* no*ck*ot hjá Þráin*n*, t*óc* h*ann* þá a*t* géfa Hróm*undi* st*or*
hǫgg oc pústra, setti h*ann* þá nǫglr sín*ar* á kaf v*it* háls h*an*s o*c* reif
hold frá bein*om* allt á lend*ar* niþr. Þá m*æl*ir Hróm*undr* þ*at* finn e*c* 65
a*t* klóra kan*n* piltkindin[23] m*ǫ*nnom á b*ac*ino o*c* e*ck*i sljófgast hǫnom
fíngurn*ar*. Segþo t*il* s*egir* Þráin*n*, ef e*c* skal betr g*jǫ*ra, þ*ví* e*ck*i man
blána né blæþa, o*c* ósópaþ*ar* e*ro* þín*ar* síþr báþar, elleg*ar* kinok*ar* þú
þér, a*t* þú fær*ist* und*an*, oc hnickist or f*an*gi mér, o*c* þ*at* segi e*c* þér,
a*t* e*ck*i mátto krimpast v*it* þ*at*, þó e*c* kunn*i* a*t* hafa einstǫko nǫgl á 70
fíngrom mín*om*; en*n* ei a*t* síþr skalto nú e*ck*i héþ*an* laus v*er*þa, þ*ví*
nú skal e*c* þ*ic* qvican*n* í sundr rífa taug frá taug. Hróm*undr* þeinkti
m*eþ* sér, a*t* þetta eina m*un*di Þráin*n* satt s*egja* her*þ*tist h*ann* af stórri

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54 ei] ÷ L679. 55 fry*ar* þú] þú frijar L679, L2404, L1572. 55 mér] + nu L1572. 55 m*eþ* þ*ví*] medann L1572. 55 á] ÷ L679, L1572. 55 dagin*n*] dagr L679. 55 liþit] lidinn L679, L1572. 55–56 o*c* dym*m*a te*c*or í haugi mín*om*] ÷ L679. 57 v*er*ri v*er*a] vera verri L679. 57 u*m*] ÷ L2404. 58 t*ac*ast] taka L679. 58 á aptr] aptr til glijmú L679. 59 þ*at*] sem L2404. 59 tǫn*nom*] + og L679. 60 reif og] ÷ L679. 62 sjálf*om*] ÷ L679, L2404. 62 t*óc*] + þá L679, L2404. 62 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 63 eptir v*ar* no*ck*ot] nockúd var eptir L679. 63 Þráin*n*] Þráini L2404. 63 t*óc* h*ann* þá a*t* géfa] gaf hann þá L2404. 64 v*it*] i L2404. 65 bein*om*] beini L679. 65 á lend*ar*] ad lendum L679. 66 klóra kan*n* piltkindin] pilltkindinn kann ad klora L679, klóra kant þú L2404, L1572. 66 m*ǫ*nnom] mier L679. 66 hǫnom] þér L2404, L1572. 68 blána né blæþa] blæda nie blána L679. 68 þín*ar* síþr báþar] badar sijdr þijnar L679, sidr þinar badar L1572. 68 elleg*ar*] eda L679. 69 a*t* þú] og L679. 69 und*an*, oc hnickist] ÷ L679. 69 mér] mijnu L679. 70 v*it* þ*at*] ÷ L679. 71 mín*om*] ÷ L679. 71 e*ck*i] ÷ L679, L1572. 73 m*eþ* sér] ÷ L679. 73 þetta eina m*un*di Þráin*n*] Þráinn mundi þetta L679. 73 h*ann*] + þá L679. 73 stórri] mikillri L679.

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22. A grammatical error in B11109 and probably also in L2404. Note that the word is abbreviated in L2404 as 'liþ*it*', while the abbreviations in L679 and L1572 are straightforward with a nasal stroke for 'lidin*n*'.

23. The feminine noun *piltkind* is registered in OH from the 19th to the 20th cent.

bræþi, oc m*æ*lir t*il* Þráins: v*a*rla b*er* e*c* vit t*il* oc skynsemd, a*t* þú, s*em*
K*óngr* hefr heit*it*, skul*ir* orþin*n* v*e*ra a*t* v*er*sta kétti, oc er skȯm*m* a*t*
þér gráh*æ*rþ*om* k*a*rli, a*t* gj*ǫ*rast slíc fj*a*nd*a*ns fordæþa, oc mantú sonr
tr*ǫ*llkono s*em* Gun*n*l*ǫ*þ h*i*et, hún átti b*ǫ*rn m*ǫ*rg, oc v*o*ro þau *ǫ*ll
blauþ*ir* kétt*ir*, oc fin*n* e*c* a*t* þú ert ein kétta, þ*ví* þ*at* sá e*c* áþ*ann*, a*t*
þú v*e*rmd*ir* þ*ic* á milli fót*a*na, þ*ví* þú satst m*eþ* kétilin*n* í klofino, e*n*
ert orþin hundg*ǫ*mul. V*it* orþ þessi reiþdist Þráin*n*, oc t*óc* a*t* seilast
m*eþ* krócana út á síþurn*ar*; í þ*ví* brá Hróm*undr* hȯn*om* hælkróc, sva
h*ann* datt aptr á bac, þá blés Þráin*n* mæþilega, e*n* haugin*n* || fyllti af 114r
ódaun oc reyc. Fellr hv*or* þó fræcin*n* sé, s*egir* Þráin*n*. Skjald*an* heyrist
þ*at*, s*egir* Hróm*undr* a*t* k*ǫ*tt*om* v*er*þi hálk*an* a*t* bilto meini, oc v*er*þr
einosin*n*i allt fyrst; t*óc* þá Þráinn a*t* brjótast om oc blása eldi or gini
sér, sva no*ck*ot glampaþi om haugin*n*; miþt í þ*ess*o sá Hróm*undr* a*t*
þ*ar* s*em* Þráin*n* lá, a*t* súlo stoþin v*ar* hjá s*em* Mistiltein*n* á he*ck*, h*ann*
bregþst scjótt v*it*, oc þrífr sv*er*þ*it* á lopt af mesta fimleika, oc hendti á
lopti, e*n* Þráin*n* v*ar* sein*n* a*t* st*an*da á fætr, en*n* hafþi þó læst*ar* hendr í
klæþa slitri og síþ*om* Hróm*undar* Hróm*undr* hjó þá af Þráin*n* báþ*ar*
hendurn*ar*, oc héngo þ*ær* báþ*ar* í síþ*om* Hróm*undar* Þá m*æ*lir Þráin*n*:
gjæfo munr v*ar*þ nú m*eþ* o*ck*or, a*t* þú náþ*ir* sv*er*þi míno, oc ætlaþi e*c*
þ*at* aldrei, a*t* þú, min*n* góþi Mistiltein*n*! mund*ir* mér a*t* meini v*er*þa,
oc er þ*ví* alldrei gott a*t* treysta á gripi oc g*er*sem*ar* sín*ar*, oc san*n*ast
þ*at* nú á mér. Þá sp*urdi* Hróm*undr* hv*aþ* m*a*rga hefr þú í einvígi
sigraþ m*eþ* þ*ess*o sv*er*þi? Þr*áinn* m*æ*lir J C hólmgaungr hefi e*c* þ*at*
bor*it*, oc f*éck* aldrei eitt sar á líkama min*n*; xxiv K*on*ga hjó e*c* t*il* b*a*na
m*eþ* þ*ví*, oc þ*at* sagþi Semíngr K*óngr* mér v*it* Svíþjóþ, þá e*c* v*ann* af

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74 t*il* oc skynsemd] til L2404, oc skinsemd til L1572. 75 orþin*n* v*er*a] vera ordinn L679, L2404. 75 er] + þier L679. 76 þér] þuj L679. 76 fj*a*nd*a*ns] ÷ L2404. 76 fordæþa] fordædi L679. 77 s*em*] er L679, L1572. 77 b*ǫ*rn m*ǫ*rg] mórg bórn L679. 77 *ǫ*ll] allt L679, L1572. 80 hundg*ǫ*mul] hundgamall L679. 80 orþ þessi] þessi ord L679. 81 síþurn*ar*] + og L679. 82 datt] fiell L679. 82 fyllti] filltist L679. 83 oc reyc] ÷ L2404. 83 Fellr] so fellr L1572. 85 gini] kjapti L679. 87 hjá] + þar L679, + þeim L2404, þar hjá L1572. 87 s*em*] er L1572. 87 á he*ck*] hieck á L679. 88 bregþst] brá L2404. 88 scjótt v*it*] vid skiott L1572. 88 lopt] lopti L679. 88 hendti] + sverdid L1572. 89 þó læst*ar*] þá læst L2404. 90 og] á L2404. 90 Hróm*undr*] og L679. 91 báþ*ar*] ÷ L679. 92 v*ar*þ nú] var L679. 92 o*ck*or] yckr L679. 92 míno] + eij L679. 93 aldrei, a*t* þú] ÷ L679. 93 Mistiltein*n*] + at þu L679. 93 meini] bana L679. 94 gripi] + sijna L679. 94 sín*ar*] ÷ L679. 95 einvígi] einvigum L1572. 96 hólmgaungr] holmgaungum L1572. 97 f*éck*] + eg L679, fengit L1572. 98 sagþi] + mer L2404. 98 K*óngr* mér] Bersercr (Kongr) L2404. 98 v*it* Svíþjóþ] ÷ L679. 98–99 af hȯn*om* þetta sv*er*þ] þetta sverd af honum vid Sviþjod L679.

hỏn*om* þetta sv*er*þ, a*t* e*c* m*un*di jafn*an* sigr fá, me*d*an e*c* á þ*ví* héldi. Hr*ómundr* m*ælir* e*c* held þ*at* betsta lukko v*er*c a*t* drepa þ*ic*, me*þ* þ*ess*o sv*er*þi o*c* ept*ir* þetta hjó Hróm*undr* hỏfuþ*it* af Þráin*n* o*c* brendi h*ann* síþ*an* á báli upp t*il* ỏsko, v*ar*þ bj*art* í haugn*om*, þ*ar* t*óc* Hr*ómundr* sv*er*þ*it* Mistiltein, Men*it* o*c* Hríngin*n*, o*c* m*arga* aþra góþa gripi, g*éck* síþ*an* t*il* fest*ar*in*nar* o*c* las s*ic* upp, v*oro* þá allir K*óng*s m*enn* frá h*orfn*i*r*; g*éck* Hróm*undr* þ*ar* t*il* a*t* h*ann* hitti Olaf K*óng* o*c* m*enn* h*an*s. K*óngr* fagnaþi Hróm*undi* v*el*, o*c* m*ælir* hv*or*nig skildot þiþ Þráin*n*? Hróm*undr* m*ælir* allt ge*ck* at ósk*om*, me*þ* h*an*s egin sv*er*þi hjó e*c* af hỏn*om* hỏfuþ*it*, o*c* brendi síþ*an* upp t*il* ỏsko. Slíkt v*ar* mesta happa
114v v*er*k s*egir* ‖ K*óngr* o*c* erto frægr[24] m*aþr*. Toko þá K*óng*s m*enn* ofr gnægþ af gulli o*c* sylfri, o*c* héldo brott frá Svíþjóþ o*c* t*il* Norvegs þ*ar* s*em* í Bjỏrg*om* hi*et*, þ*ar* h*afþi* K*óngr* vetrseto me*þ* hyrþ sína, þ*ann* vetr, hjá Burgeis no*ck*rom, h*ann* v*ar* Gnúdi kallaþr, h*ann* gaf K*óngi* m*arga* góþa gripi o*c* sva mỏ*nnom* h*an*s; h*ann* gaf Hróm*undi* ein*n* ra*ck*a, s*em* v*ar* sva v*el* viti b*or*in*n*, s*em* m*aþr*, o*c* skjótr s*em* ỏr, o*c* hit mesta g*er*semi v*ar* h*ann*, sá v*ar* Hrókr kallaþr. Hróm*undr* gaf Gnúþa aptr ágæt*ann* hríng af betsta gulli, oc v*ar* talat a*t* h*ann* v*æ*ri or haugi Þráins, o*c* vóg v*it* ij m*er*cr sylfors; þ*ess*a gjỏf ỏfundaþi Vole hyrþm*aþr* K*óng*s, h*ann* kémor a*t* máli v*it* Bíld félaga sin*n*, o*c* segist vilja drepa hund þ*ann* er Hróm*undr* h*afi* eignast, o*c* s*egir* a*t* K*óngr* vyrþi han*n* l*an*gt yf*ir* aþra m*enn*, sỏk*om* þ*ess* a*t* h*ann* hafi í haugin*n* g*engit*, oc

99 jafn*an*] ÷ L2404. 99 fá] + á L679. 100 betsta] mesta L679, L2404. 101 Þráin*n*] Þráni L2404. 102 á báli upp t*il*] ad L679. 102 v*ar*þ] ÷ L679, + nu L2404, + þá L1572. 102 bj*art* í haugn*om*] ÷ L679. 102 þ*ar*] ÷ L679, þá L1572. 102 t*óc*] + þá L679. 103 sv*er*þ*it*] ÷ L679. 103 m*arga*] + þar L2404. 104 frá] burt L1572. 105 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 105 hitti] finnr L679. 106 Hróm*undi*] hónum L679. 107–108 af hỏn*om* hỏfuþ*it*] hófúd af honum L679. 108 brendi] + hann L679. 108 v*ar*] + hid L679, er L1572. 109 s*egir*] ÷ L679. 109 K*óngr*] ÷ L679. 109 frægr] frægdar L1572 109 m*aþr*] + af þessu segir Kongr L679. 109 Toko] taka L1572. 110 sylfri] giersemum L679. 110 héldo] + svo L679. 110 brott] búrt L679, L2404, L1572. 110 o*c*] ÷ L679. 111 hi*et*] heitir L679. 111 hyrþ] ÷ L2404, mönnum L1572. 111 sína] sinni L679, ÷ L2404, sinum L1572. 111–112 þ*ann* vetr] ÷ L2404. 112 hjá] ÷ L2404, med L1572. 112 h*ann* v*ar*] ÷ L2404. 112 Gnúdi] + var L2404. 113 góþa] fásiena L679. 114 s*em* v*ar* sva v*el*] er vel var L679. 115 v*ar*] ÷ L1572. 115 h*ann*] sa L679, ÷ L1572. 115 sá] hann L679. 115 Hrókr kallaþr] kallaþr Hrókur L2404. 116 aptr ágæt*ann*] ÷ L679. 116 a*t*] ÷ L1572. 116 v*æ*ri] + einn L1572. 118 h*ann*] og L679. 120 a*t*] ÷ L679.

24. In L1572, the reading is abbreviated with a superscript ‘r’, which is usually used for ‘ar’, hence the expansion ‘frægdar’.

abl*at* góþra gripa. Bíldr m*ælir* þetta er dagsan*n*a, o*c* h*it* betsta ráþ s*em* þú s*egir* o*c* skúl*om* vit í nótt t*il* reyna.

VIII kap*ítuli*

Ein*n* dag v*ar* þ*at* u*m* ve*t*orin*n*, a*t* K*óngr* befalaþi m*ǫ́nnom* sín*om*, a*t* f*ar*a me*þ* sér á jagt, a*t* f*an*ga veiþ*ir* fugla o*c* dýra; þ*ei*r g*jǫ́*ra s*em* K*óngr* vildi, ríþa me*r*kr, o*c* skjóta fugla, e*n* jaga dýr; þ*ei*m sóktist ílla dýra jagtin*n*, þ*ví* dýrin*n* v*or*o allstygg. Hróm*undr* sigaþi rac*k*a sín*om* ept*ir* dýrun*om*, e*n* h*ann* dró upp hv*or*t eitt, o*c* u*m* síþ*ir* fengo m*enn* sva m*ǫ́*rg t*il* bráþs s*em* þá gyrnti, o*c* héldo nú h*ei*m me*þ* st*or*ri skémtun o*c* fǫ́gnuþi, o*c* sǫ́gþo frá þ*ví*, a*t* Hrókr hefþi betst dregit upp dýrin*n*, o*c* eins hefþi h*ann* fugl*an*a sigraþ, lét þá K*óng*r und*ir* b*or*þ setjast t*il* matv*er*þa o*c* dry*ck*jo, o*c* v*or*o allkát*ir* e*n* þeg*ar* hætt v*ar* dry*ck*jo, g*eng*jo m*enn* t*il* hvílo, o*c* tóco náþ*ir*. Þ*ei*r Vole o*c* Bíldr, hǫ́fþo gát á hundin*om* Hrók, o*c* þá || m*enn* v*or*o sof*an*di, g*eng*o þ*ei*r a*t* hǫ́n*om* 115r
o*c* stúngo t*il* b*an*a, þ*ví* h*ann* lá sof*an*di o*c* v*ar* þreyttr; h*ann* spratt upp v*it* lag*it* o*c* náþi til Bílds, o*c* beit í gégn*om* h*an*dlegg h*an*s, e*n* Vole hjó af Hróci trín*it*. V*it* þetta vaknaþi Hróm*undr* o*c* sp*yr* hv*aþ* u*m* væ*r*i; h*a*m setst upp o*c* sér hundin*n* dauþ*an*, e*n* þ*ei*r Vole o*c* Bíldr lupo á gátt, o*c* misti h*ann* þ*ei*rra í þ*at* sin*n*. Hróm*undi* líkaþi ílla a*t* h*ann* misti rac*k*an*n*, e*n* lét þó eigi á sér heyra. Ann*ann* dag ept*ir* héldt Ol*afr* K*óngr* á skóg a*t* veiþa, hǫ́n*om* tócst ílla a*t* veiþa; þ*ann* dag v*ar* Hróm*undr* heima o*c* f*or* hv*or*gi K*óngr* sp*yr* hv*ar* Hróm*undr* væ*r*i? m*enn* qváþo h*ann* sjúk*an* ept*ir* heima í m*or*gun. Þetta heyrdi

121 þetta] þat L679. 122 s*em* þú s*egir*] ÷ L679. 122 t*il* reyna] reina til þess L679. 1 befalaþi] kallar L2404, sagdi L1572. 1–2 m*ǫ́nnom* sín*om*, a*t* f*ar*a] hyrd sína L2404. 2 me*þ* sér á jagt] á jakt med sier L679, á jagt L2404. 2 a*t*] og L679. 2 f*an*ga] veida L1572. 2 veiþ*ir* fugla o*c* dýra] dijr og fugla L679, L1572. 3 vildi] baud L1572. 3 ríþa] + á L679, L2404, ridu á L1572. 3 me*r*kr] + og skoga L679. 3 skjóta] skutu L1572. 3 e*n*] og L679. 3 jaga] jøgudu L1572. 4 rac*k*a] seppa L679. 5 e*n*] og L679. 5 h*ann* dró] dro hann þaug óll L679. 5 hv*or*t eitt] ÷ L679. 5 m*enn*] þeir L1572. 6 m*ǫ́*rg] mikid L679. 6 bráþs] brada L679, L1572. 6 nú] so L1572. 6 skémtun] skiemtan L679, L2404, L1572. 7 o*c*] ÷ L2404. 7 fǫ́gnuþi] gledi L679, ÷ L2404. 7 dregit] haft L679. 8 und*ir*] ÷ L1572. 8 b*or*þ] drickju bord L679, ÷ L1572. 9 t*il* matv*er*þa o*c* dry*ck*jo] ÷ L679. 9 dry*ck*jo] ÷ L679. 10 Vole o*c* Bíldr] Billdr og Voli L679. 11 hundin*om*] ÷ L2404. 11 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 12 stúngo] + hann L679, L1572. 12 lá] var L1572. 12 v*ar*] ÷ L1572. 14 V*it* þetta] i þvj L679. 15 Vole o*c* Bíldr] Bildr og Voli L679. 16 á gátt] i burt L1572. 17 ept*ir*] ÷ L679. 18 a*t* veiþa] og L679. 18 hǫ́n*om* tócst] tokst hónum L679. 18 a*t* veiþa] veidinn L679. 20 í m*or*gun] ÷ L1572.

Vole, oc brosti. Ekki dauþsjúkr segir hann, hann man eptir venjo vera á tali hjá Svanhvít systir Kóngs, því hún elskar hann meirst allra manna. Þat hefi ec hugsat segir Kóngr at tignir menn skyldo Svanhvít oc Dagnýo eignast, en ecki kotkarla synir. Allt sannast síþar um þetta segir Vole oc lauk sva tali, at Kóngr héldt heim um qvöldit, oc gengo þá allir til dryckjo. Kóngr spyr er Hrómundr sjúkr en nú? Ei er þat segir Hrómundr heldr bý ec at kumlum Þráinns. Jlla tókst oss veiþi í dag segir Kóngr því bæþi vantaþi þic oc seppa þinn. Vera má sva sé at hann hafi vantaþ segir Hrómundr oc þackir meþ tilhlýþilegom launom, vildi ec þeim kunna sem hann drápo í fyrri nótt, oc léto hann saclausan gjalda mín. Øll von er þess, segir Kóngr at slíkt viljir þú, því hann var afbragþ annara racka; liþo sva tímar, at ekkert bar til tíþinda. Nú víkr sögunni til Greips Föþr[25] þeirra bræþra oc Hrómundar at hann gjörir orþ Hrómundi oc biþr
115v hann þiggja heim boþ sitt, oc qvoma á sinn fund. Þetta boþ || þáþi Hrómundr at qvoma til fundar vit hann. Greipr fagnar hönom vel, oc gjörir veglega veitslo móti hönom, oc spyr margra luta frá Olafi Kóngi Hrómundr sagdi slíkt er villdi, oc qvaþ Kóngr gjöra vel til sín oc bræþra sinna. Enn hvornig géþjast þér at Bíld oc Vola sagdi Greipr allt læt ec þat ósagt sagdi Hrómundr oc man þat seinna heyrast. Draum minn hefi ec at segja þér Frændi[26] segir Greipr mic dreymdi Olaf Kóng oc þic, oc þókti mér at þú hafa géfit hönom gullhringa á báþar hendurnar, oc þókti mér at hringarnir væro af eign Hróks svarta Mágs mins[27] oc þóktist ec sjá eptir hringunom, því at þeir voro bæþi

21 eptir venjo] ÷ L679. 22 á tali] ad tala L679. 22 hjá] vid L679, L2404, L1572. 22 hún elskar hann] hann elskar hana L679. 23 skyldo] + eiga L679. 24 eignast] ÷ L679. 25 síþar um þetta] þetta um sijdir L679. 25 at] ÷ L1572. 26 sjúkr] veikr L679. 28 seppa] racka L1572. 29 má] + ad L679. 29 sva] þad L1572. 29 sé] hafi verid L679, ÷ L1572. 30 kunna] kunnad hafa L679. 30 hann drápo] drapu hann L679, L2404. 34 gjörir] giördi L679. 34 orþ Hrómundi] hónum ord L679. 35 hann] honum L679. 35 þiggja heim boþ sitt, oc qvoma á sinn fund] a sinn fund ad þiggja heim bod sitt L679. 36 at qvoma til fundar vit hann] og ferdadist af stad L679, oc fer til fundar vid hann L1572. 36 fagnar] fagnadi L1572. 42 at] ÷ L2404, L1572. 42–43 á báþar hendurnar] tvö L679. 43 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 43 væro] vera L679, L2404. 43 eign] ætt L679. 43 Hróks] + hins L679, L2404. 44 oc þóktist ec] eg þottist L679, oc þóttiz L2404. 44 sjá] ÷ L2404. 44 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 44–45 bæþi margir] bádir vænir L679.

25. Expansion follows the single written-out example of 'föþr' on f. 117v.
26. The expansion based on the reading in L679.
27. The expansion based on the readings in L679 and L1572.

margir oc fagrir; þókti `mér´ Kóngr skeinkja þér mót hríngunom, sva stora yfirhǫfn, at hún huldi þic allann á milli hvirfils oc ilja, oc þar á eptir sá ec þic í gǫmlo rúmi, oc hafþir þú þá micil svefn læti; mér þókti Svanhvít ganga at þér sofandi, oc búa um þic, en Dagný hjálpaþi henni til þessa starfa, en þá þær skildo vit þic, laut Svanhvít at þér oc kysti þic, oc tóc hnoþagrasfagurt oc batt þess enda um hǫnd þér oc sagdi þesso skalto eckí sleppa, á medan ec sleppi eckí, síþan rakti hún niþr hnoþ at eptir sér oc géck í burt, en þú svafst eptir sem áþr. Nú hef ec sagt þér draum minn, en þú mant ráþa verþa meþ tíþinni. Hrómundr svarar: bæþi er þat, at draumurinn þykir eckí sva merkilegr, enda erto oc maþr orþinn gamall. Satt er þat segir Greipr at ec er gamall vorþinn, en víst man draumurinn eitthvaþ merkja, því mér féllst hugr um hríngana, oc þat villda ec, Frændi! at þú talaþir vit þær systr Olafs Kóngs, oc manto þeirra njóta, en Bíld oc Vola skalto varast því þeir ero ótrúir fleyrstom oc segja Kóngi satt oc logit af ǫþrom mǫnnom. Sat nú Hrómundr hjá Fǫþr sínom nockra stund oc eptir þat býst || hann á burt, géck þá Greipr á veg meþ hǫnom, oc 116r
bat allra vyrta, at heilir aptr findost; ferþaþist Hrómundr til þess at heim kom, oc lét fátt yfir ferþ sinni

IX kapítuli

Ekki langt eptir þetta, géck Hrómundr at finna þær systr; bræþr hans gengo meþ hǫnom, þær tóco vel qvomo þeirra, oc spurþo tíþinda, en þeir sǫgþost engin vita. Hrómundr mælir þess eyrindis qvom ec híngat, at ec villdi ega gott vit yþr[28] at skoþa draum hylli Fǫþr míns, því ec þenki yþr bæþi lítilátar oc spakar. Hún segir Jlla færi mér at

45 þókti `mér´] mier þotti L679, L2404, L1572. 45 Kóngr] hann L679. 45 þér] + á L2404. 46 á] ÷ L1572. 47 hafþir þú] höfþo þeir L2404. 48 sofandi] ÷ L679. 48 þic] + sofandi L679. 49 þá] þegar L679. 53 verþa meþ] ÷ L679. 54 tíþinni] tijdindi L679, ÷ L2404. 54 svarar] mælir L1572. 54 draumurinn þykir eckí sva] mier þiki draumurinn L679, draumurinn þikir mer eckie so L1572. 55 oc maþr orþinn] ordinn madr L679, og ordin madr L1572. 55–56 at ec er gamall vorþinn] ÷ L2404, ad eg er ordinn gamall L1572. 57 talaþir] + eij L679. 60 hjá Fǫþr sínom nockra stund] um stund hjá fódr sijnum L679. 61 á burt] i burt L679, á brott L2404. 62 bat] + hónum L679. 62 ferþaþist] letti ei L2404. 62–63 til þess at heim kom] þá heim L679, fyrr enn hann kom heim L2404, til þess hann heim kom L1572. 1 systr] + þeir L2404. 2 qvomo] kvedju L679. 3 sǫgþost] qvadu L2404. 4 at] og L1572. 4 skoþa] rada L679. 5 spakar] spakastar L1572. 5 Hún segir] hún svarar L2404, Þá segir Svanhvit L1572.

28. L679 has the reading ‘þig’ corrected to ‘ydr’.

synja góþ*om* m*ǫ́nnom* þ*ess* er e*c* v*ei*ta má, oc slíkt sóm*ir* e*ck*i, eþa hv*or*s villto beiþast? Hróm*undr* s*egir* hen*n*i drauminn eptir þ*ví* s*em* v*er*it hafþi. Hún m*ælir* Þ*at* ræþ e*c* þér, a*t* þú sért hjá F*ǫ́þr* þín*om*, o*c* þ*ei*r br*æþr* þín*ir* me*þ* þ*ér*, o*c* skiptit yþr e*ck*ert af br*óþr* mín*om*, þ*ví* h*ann* heldr ij falska m*enn*, s*em* stunda eptir a*t* rógb*er*a þ*ic*, frá mér. Vænt er þ*at* a*t* v*er*a drengr, o*c* vinna t*il* s*egir* Hróm*undr* o*c* skal e*c* þ*ví* heldr híngat q*v*oma s*em* þ*ei*r me*i*ra af skjala, á m*ed*an a*t* þér mér þ*at* leyf*it* oc e*ck*i ban*nit*. Ei man þ*at* sva fljótt v*er*þa s*egir* hún, a*t* e*c* v*ar*ni þér viþrmælis, o*c* þ*at* hefi e*c* lengi þeinkt, a*t* v*it* m*undom* einhv*or*n tíma samtal ega, o*c* þ*at* dreymdi m*ic* eitt sin*n*, a*t* e*c* þókt-ist búa u*m* þ*ic* í eino rúmi, o*c* v*ar*sto lítt haldin*n*, e*n* þó mælt*ir* þú t*il* mín, e*n* br*æþr*om þín*om* bjó e*c* ann*at* rúm, o*c* tǫluþo þ*ei*r e*ck*i neitt t*il* mín. Máské[29] sva v*er*þi s*egir* Hróm*undr* o*c* t*ó*c fíngorgull o*c* gaf hen*n*i, o*c* g*é*c*k* burt síþ*an*, e*n* hún b*at* h*ann* v*el* f*ar*a. Litlo eptir þetta q*v*oma þ*ei*r Vole o*c* B*íldr* á tal v*it* K*óng* o*c* s*egja* hǫn*om* a*t* Hróm*undr* me*þ* br*æþr*om sín*om* hafi g*engit* t*il* þ*ei*rra systra, eptir v*an*a sín*om*, s*egja* þ*ei*r. o*c* má þ*at* þykja und*ar*leg*t* o*c* óhǫ́fþínglegt, a*t* þ*ar* sé e*ck*ert a*t* fund*it*, o*c* af tala*t*, a*t* ein*n* kotk*ar*lsson hafi gistíng
116v hjá Kóngb*or*n*om* Jómfrúm u*m* nætr o*c* daga. K*óngr* ‖ m*ælir* þetta hefi e*c* ei fyrr vit*at*, o*c* skal sva e*ck*i lengi t*il* g*an*ga ef e*c* má a*t* noc*k*ro aktast, o*c* lát*it* m*ic* vita n*ær* þetta t*il* fellr o*c* þ*at* fregn*it*. Þ*ei*r játto þ*ess*o, o*c* skildo tal*it*; leituþost þ*ei*r nú eptir á all*ar* lund*ir* a*t* sitja u*m* Hróm*und* n*ær* h*ann* g*an*gi a*t* finna Svanhv*ít* o*c* eittsin*n* er Hróm*undr* v*ar* á tali v*it* þ*ær* systr, f*o*ro þ*ei*r á K*óng*s fund o*c* s*ǫ́gþu* han*om*, a*t* nú v*æri* Hróm*undr* q*v*omin*n* t*il* þ*ei*rra systra. K*óngr* bregþr fljótt v*it* o*c*

6 þ*ess*] slijks L679. 6 v*ei*ta má] má veita L2404. 8 m*ælir*] segir L679. 9 þ*ei*r] ÷ L1572. 9 e*ck*ert] ecki L679. 10 þ*ic*] ydúr L679. 12 a*t*] ÷ L679. 13 oc] enn L679, ÷ L2404. 13 e*ck*i ban*nit*] ÷ L2404. 14 viþrmælis] vidmælis L679. 15 einhv*or*n tíma samtal ega] samtal eiga einkvórn tijma L679. 18 neitt] ÷ L679. 19 burt síþ*an*] sijdann heim L679. 20 Vole o*c* B*íldr*] Bjldur og Voli L679. 20 á tal] ad tali L679. 21 þ*ei*rra systra] tals vid þær sistr L679. 22 s*egja* þ*ei*r] ÷ L1572. 23 e*ck*ert] ecki L679. 23 o*c* af tala*t*] ÷ L2404. 24 u*m*] og hafi þar gisting L679. 25 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 25 noc*k*ro] nockud L679, ÷ L2404. 26 aktast] ráþa L2404. 26 þ*at*] þid L679, L2404, L1572. 27 leituþost] leitast L679. 27 eptir] vid L1572. 28 g*an*gi] færi L679. 28 oc] ÷ L679. 29 á tali] ad tala L679. 29 systr] + þá L679. 29 á K*óng*s fund] nú til Kongs L679. 29–30 nú v*æri* Hróm*undr*] Hromundr væri L679. 30 þ*ei*rra systra] tals vid Svanhvit L679, þeirra L2404. 30 fljótt] skiótt L1572.

29. Note the use of 'máské', a Danish loanword from *måske*, examples in OH dated to the 16th–20th cent.

kall*ar* m*enn* o*c* biþr þá t*ac*a vapn sín, o*c* fylgja sér ept*ir*; sn*er*o þ*ei*r þá all*ir* a*t* h*er*b*er*gj*om* Svanh*vítar* v*ar* þá Dagný a*t* lauga líntrefla þ*ei*rra systra, e*n* Svanh*vít* v*ar* a*t* máli v*it* Hróm*und* Þá t*óc* t*il* orþa þ*er*na Dagný*ar*, o*c* s*agdi* lít þú upp Jómfr*ú* o*c* bú þ*ic* v*it* br*óþir* þín*om* oc
35 hirþ h*an*s. Þá sá Dagný m*icin*n fjǫlda a*t* dryfa; hún ran*n* á skunda t*il* systr sin*nar*, o*c* s*egir* hen*ni* tíþindin a*t* Ol*afr* K*óngr* Br*óþir* hen*nar* q*v*omi. Svanh*vít* g*éck* a*t* Hróm*undi* o*c* m*ælir* nú mátto e*ck*i tefja, þ*ví* Br*óþir* m*inn* kémr in*nan* lítils tíma o*c* vill f*an*ga þ*ic*, skalto t*ac*a v*it* qven*n*-skrúþa v*or*um, o*c* mæta K*óngi* v*it* gjætt*ir*, o*c* b*er* sængr fǫt
40 o*c* hvílo voþ*ir* í f*an*gi þér, en*n* frétti K*óngr* a*t* Hróm*undi* skalto s*egja* a*t* h*ann* q*v*omin*n* sé á fund v*or*n, o*c* sé nú a*t* tala v*it* m*ic*, manot þ*it* þá skílja, e*n* þú skalt þá hitta Fǫþ*r* þin*n*, o*c* t*ac* br*æþ*r þína m*eþ* þér; síþ*an* t*óc* Svanh*vít* ljósgul*ann* stein, o*c* dró u*m* andlit h*an*s, f*éck* h*ann* þá yf*ir*lit hen*nar* þjónosto mey*ar*; qvaþdi Hróm*undr* nu h*an*a,
45 e*n* hún kysti h*ann* o*c* b*at* heil*an* f*ar*a o*c* aptr q*v*oma; f*or* þá Hróm*undr* í Mey*ar*skrúþ*an*, o*c* stritaþist út m*eþ* sængrfata bagg*an* á ǫxlin*n*i, o*c* q*v*om þá K*óng*r á móti stúlko þ*ess*ari, o*c* sp*yr* tíþinda, o*c* hv*ort* a*t* Hróm*undr* sé þ*ar* eþa ei? Hún s*egir* a*t* sva muni v*er*a a*t* þau mælist v*it*, Svanh*vít* o*c* h*ann*. K*óngr* sp*yr* hv*ar* e*ro* þau nú? stúlk*an* s*egir* í
50 nátth*er*b*er*gi hen*nar* v*ar* h*ann* nú f*yrir* stutto, o*c* má e*c* e*ck*i tefja v*er*k, a*t* h*er*ma fremr. Far þú s*egir* K*óngr* o*c* ‖ vin*n* þ*at* s*em* þér v*ar* skip*at*; 117r
g*éck* þá stúlk*an* sin*n* veg, þan*n* s*em* hen*ni* v*ar* f*yrir* lagþr, e*n* K*óngr* reiþ t*il* p*or*tdyra Jómfrúna, o*c* v*or*o þá allar dyr lokaþ*ar*. K*óngr* s*agþi* m*ǫnnom* upp a*t* brjóta, e*n* Dagný lét frá lokr, o*c* qv*aþ* Hróm*undr* þ*ar*
55 dval*it* hafa hjá systr s*inni* o*c* hér hygg e*c* h*ann* e*n* v*er*a þó felast kun*ni*,

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31 kall*ar*] + þá L679. 33 máli] tala L679, mæla L1572. 34 s*agdi*] mælti L1572. 34 bú þ*ic*] búst þú L679, L1572, búst L2404. 36 t*il*] og fann L679. 36 sin*nar*] sijna L679. 36 s*egir*] ÷ L2404. 38 lítils tíma] stundar L1572. 39 qven*n*-skrúþa] skrúda L679. 39 mæta] mæt L679, L2404, L1572. 39 fǫt] vorar L679. 40 voþ*ir*] fót L679. 41 a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 41 sé] ÷ L679. 41 fund v*or*n] vorn fúnd L679. 41 sé nú] ÷ L2404. 41 a*t* tala] á tali L679, L1572, tali L2404. 41 manot] munú L679, L2404, L1572. 42 þá] ÷ L679. 42 þá] ÷ L679. 42 t*ac*] takto L2404. 44 nu] ÷ L679, L1572. 45 kysti h*ann* o*c*] ÷ L679. 45 b*at*] + hann L1572. 46 Mey*ar*skrúþ*an*] meyarskruþunom L2404. 47 stúlko þ*ess*ari] þessari stúlkú L679. 47 o*c*] + spir L679, ÷ L2404, eda L1572. 47 a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 48 eþa] ÷ L2404. 48 mælist] talist L679. 49 e*ro* þau] þaúg sieú L679. 50 hen*nar*] ÷ L679. 50 v*ar* h*ann* nú] voru þaúg L679, var hann L1572. 50 v*er*k] + mytt L679, L2404, L1572. 51 h*er*ma] giora L1572. 51 fremr] framar L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 51 Far þú s*egir* K*óngr*] kongr segir far þú L1572. 51 þér] fijrir þig L679. 51 skip*at*] lagt L679. 52 þá stúlk*an*] hun þá L1572. 52 þan*n*] ÷ L2404. 53 Jómfrúna] jómfruarinnar L2404. 54 m*ǫnnom*] + sinom L2404. 54 lét] dró L1572. 55 e*n*] ÷ L679.

oc megit þér vandlega leita láta eptir hanom. Kóngr gengr nú um herbergin oc fyrir Svanhvít hún fagnar Kóngi vel, oc bauþ til veitslo, en Kóngr neitaþi, oc bat hana láta Hrómund í frammi. Svanhvít mælir hvaþ vill Kóngurinn leita eptir Hrómundi þar sem at hann er hans betsti vin, oc hefi ec hanom hér því vel tekit, at mér vyrþist hann ebla oc styrkja yþar makt oc rici, en nú man hann bráþlega á braut snúinn frá yþr, at þér misgrunit hann um þá luti er hann er ei valdor af, oc væri þér heiþr hærri, at láta heingja þá lygara, sem hann hafa vit yþr rógborit, en ero þó hinar mesto raggeitr, nema at fremja galdra oc fjölkíngi sem enginn er dáþ né drengskapr í. Kóngr mælir fyrir mic er qvomit, sem satt man, at Hrómundr fipli þic, oc því held ec þat líklegast, at þú haldir svari hans. Svanhvít mælir mansto ecki þat, at hvorki þú sjálfr, eþr nockor annar þinna manna þorþi at fara í haug Þráins nema Hrómundr einn. Kóngr mælir þar af mektast hann, oc gyrnist at brúka þic eptir lystisemi sinni, at hann leynir mic þesso, oc hér fyrir skal ec láta festa hann á gálga, oc strax mátto mér hann í hendr selja. Svanhvít segir látit þér taca hann sjálfir, ec hefi ecki hanom at frammvisa, oc ero yþr heimil hús vor til ransòkunar. Kóngr skipar mönnom sínom at leita vandlega, oc sva gjörþo þeir, oc fundo ecki at heldr. Kóngr skipar nú at brjóta upp storar hyrþslr, oc leita eptir Hrómundi en hann fanst ecki. Þá reiþdist Olafr Kóngr oc
117v sló Svanhvít sva stort andlits blak, at blóþit féll || of hana oc mælir haf þetta fyrir Hrómund þín armadubba[30] oc skalto jafnan hafa reiþi

56 megit] megi L679, L2404, L1572. 56 láta] ÷ L679. 58 bat hana] baud henni ad L679. 58 Hrómund í frammi] fram Rómundr L2404, Hromund framm L1572. 59 Hrómundi] hónum L679. 59 sem] ÷ L679. 59 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 60 hér því] ÷ L679, því L2404, L1572. 61 ebla] afla L679. 62 snúinn] snúaz L2404. 62 at] er L1572. 63 þá lygara] á gálga L2404. 64 vit yþr rógborit] rogborid vid ydr L679. 65 galdra] galdr L1572. 65 né] eda L1572. 66 qvomit] + þat L679. 66 fipli] múni fipla L679. 67 haldir svari] takir svörum L1572. 68 þat] ÷ L679. 68 eþr] ne L2404. 68 annar] ÷ L679. 68 fara] ganga L679, L2404. 69 Hrómundr] hann L679. 69 af mektast] ofmetnast L679. 70 lystisemi] list L1572. 70 sinni] þinni L679. 70 at hann] enn L1572. 71 hér fyrir] fijrir þad L679. 72 segir] svarar L2404. 72 þér] ÷ L679. 72 sjálfir] sjálfr þvj L679, siálfr L1572. 73 ecki hanom] hónum ecki L679. 73 at frammvisa] framm ad vijsa L679. 73 ransòkunar] rannsoknar L679, L2404 74 skipar] baud L1572. 75 nú] ÷ L679. 75 storar hyrþslr] storhirdslur L679, L2404, L1572. 76 ecki] + ad helldr L679. 76 Olafr] ÷ L679. 77 sva] ÷ L679. 77 of] nidr um L679, om L2404, L1572.

30. The expression 'arma dubba' is an offensive term for women; examples in OH from the 17th and 18th cent. In Blöndal's dictionary, *dubba* (Da. *kvinde,*

mína. Svanhv*ít* m*ælir* allt of þ*at* o*c* ei a*t* síþr skal e*c* þá Hróm*und* v*it*
v*a*ra o*c* betst un*n*a, e*n* þ*ar* á móti t*il* leggja a*t* vin*ir* þín*ir* Vole o*c* Bíldr
v*er*þi hengþ*ir*. K*óngr* m*ælir* lít*it* man e*c* akta orþ þín, o*c* man e*c* ráþa
þ*ví* e*c* vil, e*n* Hróm*undi* hefr þú víst und*an* q*v*om*it*, oc skal þér þ*at*
e*ck*i duga, a*t* g*jǫ*ra m*ic* f*o*rn spurþ*an* a*t* tali ykkar Hróm*und*a*r* þ*ar*
t*il* g*jǫ*rir þú f*o*rsmán tign þin*n*i, a*t* leggja lag þitt v*it* slétt*an* Búra-
son. Svanh*vít* m*ælir* þ*ar* er raun s*em* hún hrǫkkr, o*c* hǫndl*it* þér ei
Hróm*und* at heldr, e*n* þ*ar* miss*it* þér hins vaskasta m*ann*s, er þér lát*it*
h*ann* burt flæmast sva óhǫfþíngl*e*ga. Ol*afr* K*óngr* m*ælir* þ*at* v*e*it e*c*
f*yrir* víst a*t* þú hefr Hróm*und* und*an* q*v*om*it*, o*c* skal þér slíkt duga
a*t* hylla h*ann* t*il* skam*m*a m*eþ* þér? Þar er raun s*em* á skérst, s*egir*
Svanh*vít* v*er*þr þá K*óngr* af*ar* reiþr, oc snýr út af h*er*b*er*gino, o*c* biþr
m*enn* sína a*t* skygnast eptir Hróm*undi* e*n* h*ann* f*an*st hv*or*gi, snýr þá
K*óngr* t*il* Bæ*ar* heim aptr o*c* átelr þá Bíld o*c* Vola, a*t* þ*ei*r hafi s*ic* á st*at*
log*it*, e*n* þ*ei*r s*egja* s*ic* satt sagt hafa, o*c* t*il* bevísíng*ar* hafi þ*ær* Jóm-
frúr m*eþ* kéndt h*it* sama, v*ar*þ nú K*óngr* þetta sva a*t* h*afa* o*c* u*mber*a.
Nú er a*t* s*egja* frá stúlkun*n*i, s*em* út b*ar* hvílo voþ*ir*n*ar*, a*t* hún skipti
skjótt klæþ*om*, o*c* g*éck* a*t* fin*n*a þá s*yni* Greips, o*c* b*at* þá fylgja sér;
e*n* s*em* þ*ei*r q*v*omo á skógin*n*, snýr þá Hróm*undr* út alv*or*un*n*i,[31] o*c*
s*egir* þ*ei*m a*t* fin*n*a Fǫþr sin*n*, o*c* þ*at* g*jǫ*rþo þeir. Gr*eipr* fagn*ar* þ*ei*m
ǫll*om*, o*c* b*at* þá þ*ar* a*t* dveljast m*ed*an villdo; e*n* þ*ess* á mill*om* s*em*
þ*ei*r þ*ar* dvǫldo, f*or* Hróm*undr* opt a*t* fin*n*a vinkonr sínar, o*c* t*óc*o
þ*ær* han*om* jafn*an* v*el*, o*c* léto ei á sér festa reiþi Ol*afs* Kóngs.

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79 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 79 þá] ÷ L679, þó L1572. 80 Vole o*c* Bíldr] Bijldr og Voli L679. 82 þ*at*] ÷ L679. 84 þitt] ÷ L2404. 84–85 Búrason] Bóndasun L2404. 85 m*ælir*] segir L1572. 85 þ*ar*] þad L679, L2404. 85 hún] ÷ L2404. 85 þér ei] þid ecki L679. 86 þ*ar*] þér L1572. 86 þér] þid L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 86 er] ef L679. 88 þér] + ei L2404, L1572. 88 duga] + ecki L679. 90 út] búrt L679. 91 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 93 s*egja* s*ic*] seigjast L679. 93 bevísíng*ar* hafi þ*ær*] sanns þar um hefi L2404, bevisingar hafi L1572. 93–94 Jómfrúr] jomfrúrnar L679, L1572, meyarnar L2404. 94 h*it*] þad L1572. 94 sva] + búid L679, L1572. 94 o*c* u*mber*a] ÷ L1572. 95 skipti] skiptir L679. 96 g*éck*] for L679. 96 s*yni* Greips] Greips syni L1572. 97 s*em*] er L1572. 97 alv*or*un*n*i] af götunni L2404. 98 g*jǫ*rþo] gióra L1572. 99 a*t*] ÷ L679. 99 mill*om*] milli L679, L2404. 100 f*or*] gékk L679. 100 o*c*] ÷ L2404. 101 han*om*] þeim L679.

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laptaske) is illustrated with an example 'sagði þær örmu dubbur [...] skyldu', while elsewhere in the dictionary we can find a similar expression: 'þegi þú, þín arma gardranorn', which is translated as 'ti stille, din forbandede Heks'.

31. The reading found in L2404 is a better reading in the context of the story.

X kap*ituli*

118r ‖ Nú[32] víkr Sǫgunn*i* austr til Svíþjóþ*ar*, a*t* þe*ir* K*óng*ar Hálfdán*ar* sam*an* draga ógrinn*i* he*rs* o*c* senda xij sína besto sveina t*il* Ol*afs* K*óngs* me*þ* þau eyrindi, a*t* þe*ir* bjóþa h*on*om t*il* b*ar*daga o*c* mótstǫþo sér a*t* mæta v*it* Væn*ir*s Vatn o*c* skal sú orrusta haldast á h*ar*þa Jsi f*yrir* þá skuld a*t* Ol*afr* K*óngr* hefr áþr fyrr g*jǫr*t ágáng á r*ic*i þe*ir*ra þe*im* a*t* saklauso, o*c* rænt þ*ar* h*erfan*gi. Sendim*enn* Kóng*an*a q*vo*mo ein*n* dag t*il* Ol*afs* K*óngs* o*c* g*en*go í hǫllina o*c* qvǫþdo h*ann*, þá er h*ann* sat yf*ir* b*or*þum. K*óngr* t*óc* qveþjo þe*ir*ra o*c* sp*yr* hv*orj*ir væro? e*n* þe*ir* sǫgþost send*ir* frá frægo*m* K*on*go*m* í Svíþjóþ þ*ess* eyrindis a*t* þe*ir* boþa yþr t*il* b*ar*daga s*egja* þe*ir*, o*c* skal yþ*ar* o*c* þe*ir*ra samfundr verþa á vatnino Væn*ir* þ*ar* á ísn*om*; e*n* ef þú þor*ir* ec*k*i, þá s*egja* þe*ir* yþr n*or*ska steingeit s*em* haf*ir* h*or*n e*n* eng*an* m*er*g. K*óngr* reiþdist þ*ess*o, e*n* lét þó ec*k*i a*t* g*jǫr*a, a*t* leita á[33] sendim*enn*ina. Han*n* m*ælti* þ*or*a man e*c* a*t* q*vo*ma, þó a*t* orka sé ec*k*i ǫll í h*or*n*om*, héldo sva sendim*enn* aptr t*il* baka; e*n* Ol*afr* K*óngr* lætr sam*an* blása síno liþi, v*antar* þá s*onu* Gr*eips* o*c* þyk*ir* nú st*ort* skarþí orþ*it*, a*t* Hróm*undr* v*ar* á burt me*þ* br*æþr*om sín*om*; dreif þá a*t* Ol*afr* K*óngr* liþ h*ans* þ*at* t*il* v*ar*, s*egir* þá K*óngr* m*ǫnnom* sín*om*, a*t* þ*ess*i orrusta skuli um mids vetr*ar* bil haldast á Væn*ir*s Jsi. Nú fréttir Hróm*undr* a*t* Ol*afi* K*óngi* er stefnt t*il* b*ar*daga, h*ann* f*er* eptir venjo sinn*i* a*t* finn*a* Svanh*vít* hún fagn*ar* han*om* v*el*, o*c* býr t*il* v*eit*slo heimuglega, o*c* biþr Hróm*undi*

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2 sam*an* draga] draga saman L679. 2 sveina] menn L2404. 3 bjóþa] bjódi L679. 3–4 o*c* mótstǫþo sér a*t* mæta] ÷ L679, og ad mæta L1572. 4 sú orrusta] orustan L2404. 5 þá skuld] þad L679. 5 áþr fyrr] ÷ L679. 5 þe*im*] ÷ L679. 6 o*c* rænt þ*ar* h*erfan*gi] ÷ L679. 7 þá] þat L2404, ÷ L1572. 8 K*óngr*] hann L679. 8 e*n*] ÷ L679. 9 sǫgþost] segjast vera L679. 9 frægo*m* K*on*go*m* í Svíþjóþ] Svia kongum L1572. 10 þe*ir*] ÷ L679. 10 boþa] bioda L1572. 10 s*egja* þe*ir*] ÷ L679, L1572. 10 o*c* þe*ir*ra] ÷ L679, L1572. 11 v*er*þa] vera L1572. 11 þ*ar*] ÷ L679, L1572. 12 s*em* haf*ir* h*or*n] ÷ L2404. 12 e*n* eng*an* m*er*g] ÷ L1572. 14 ǫll] ÷ L1572. 14–15 sva sendim*enn* aptr] þeir so L679. 15 síno liþi] lidi sijnu L679, L2404, L1572. 16 þyk*ir*] þotti L679. 16 st*ort*] ÷ L2404. 17 á burt] i burtú L679, í brott L2404, i burt L1572. 17 liþ h*ans* þ*at*] þad lid er L679, lid hans er L1572. 18–19 um mids vetr*ar* bil haldast] halldast um mis vetrar bil L679, haldast L1572. 19 fréttir] fretti L2404. 21 býr] bio L1572.

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32. From this point onwards, B11109 and L1572 number the chapters incorrectly, using 'xi' for 'x' and so on. In L2404 (using Roman numerals) and L670 (using Arabic numerals), the sequence of chapters is correctly numbered. This variation is not registered for the remaining chapters.

33. Dittography in L679, 'leita á'.

þiggja; h*ann* segist sva g*jǫ́*ra m*un*di; h*ann* sp*yr* m*ar*gra luta of Ol*af* K*óng* hún s*egir* a*t* h*ann* sé nú í liþs sam*an* drætti, o*c* haldi sn*art* burt t*il* b*ar*daga á móti þ*ei*m Svío*m*, eþa, s*egir* hún, ætl*ar* þú a*t* fylgja
25 Br*óþr* mín*om* í þ*ess*a f*er*d. Ogj*ǫ́*rla v*eit* e*c* þ*at*, s*egir* Hróm*undr*, e*n* óm*er*kil*e*gt er a*t* sitja a*t* gj*ǫ́*rþalaus f*yrir* góþa m*enn* n*ær* gran*n*llar 118v
þ*ei*rra gjæta st*ar*fa sin*n*a. Enga bón nen*n*i e*c* a*t* fram*m*b*er*a f*yrir* K*óng* s*egir* hún, a*t* þú mátt sjálfráþr v*er*a. Vel er þ*at* s*egir* Hróm*undr* þó a*t* þ*ei*r Bíldr o*c* Vole próf*i* sína frægþ o*c* hreysti núna einosin*n*i o*c* v*ei*ti
30 K*óng*i hollusto í þ*ví* s*em* h*ǫ́*n*om* meirst áliggr. Ekki hrygg*ir* m*ic* þ*at* s*egir* hún, þó þ*ei*r mætto neyta h*an*da sin*n*a, en*n* s*or*ga e*c* meira, a*t* ef þú, eþr br*æþ*r þín*ir* bíþa kaldt af þ*ess*om b*ar*daga, þ*ví* mér rís hugr u*m* þ*at* laung*om*, e*n* þó ef a*t* Br*óþr* m*inn* v*er*þr ofr liþa b*or*in*n*, þá kan*n* sæmd v*or*ri a*t* v*er*þa a*t* ósóma. Hróm*undr* brosti a*t*, o*c* g*éc*k a*t*
35 drec*k*a, o*c* ept*ir* dryc*k*jona reiþ h*ann* heim aptr t*il* F*ǫ́þr* síns.

XI kap*ituli*

Ept*ir* þetta, þeg*ar* sendim*enn* Svía K*óng*a q*v*omo heim aptr o*c* s*ǫ́gþo* slíkt er skéþ hafþi, héldo þ*ei*r Hálfdán*ar* K*óng*ar af st*ad* m*eþ* m*ic*in*n* fjǫlda skipa o*c* m*anna*, þ*ei*r snúa skip*om* sín*om* vestor m*eþ* l*an*di, þ*ar* t*il* þ*ei*r q*v*oma a*t* Væn*ir*, þ*ar* g*an*ga þ*ei*r á l*an*d, oc setja h*er*búþ*ir* sín*ar*
5 o*c* búast v*el* u*m*; þ*ei*r hǫfþo einvala liþ, o*c* h*it* h*ar*dfengasta; m*eþ* þ*ei*m v*ar* Helgi hin*n* Frækni, h*ann* hafþi hin betsto h*er*klæþi, o*c* sv*er*þ þ*at* er Hraungv*iþr* b*or*it hafþi; Frillo átti Helgi sér s*em* Kára h*ie*t, hún v*ar* fjǫlkun*n*ug o*c* hamf*ar*ar giþja, hún fló optast í álptar ham, o*c* stund*om* dreka, o*c* stund*om* v*ar* hún qvendi eþr k*ar*l, stund*om* hj*or*tr

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22 h*ann*] og L679. 22 h*ann*] og L679. 22 of] um L679, L2404, L1572. 23 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 23 nú] ÷ L679. 23 burt] ÷ L679. 24 á] ÷ L679. 24 þ*ei*m] ÷ L679. 25 Ogj*ǫ́*rla] ögjór L679. 26 er] + þad L679. 27 a*t* fram*m*b*er*a] fram at bera L2404. 28 þó] ÷ L2404, L1572. 28 a*t*] ÷ L679. 29 próf*i*] reýni L2404, prófa L1572. 29 frægþ] list frægd L679. 29 núna einosin*n*i] nú einú sinni L679, ÷ L2404, L1572. 30 s*em*] ÷ L679. 30 h*ǫ́n*om] ÷ L2404, þeim L1572. 31 mætto] megi L1572. 31 meira, a*t*] ÷ L679, meira L1572. 32 eþr] og L679, L2404, L1572. 33 u*m*] vit L2404, L1572. 33 þ*at*] því L1572. 33 a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 34 v*or*ri a*t* v*er*þa] vor uerda L679. 34 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 35 o*c*] enn L679, ÷ L1572. 35 ept*ir* dryc*k*jona] siþan L2404, eptir þad L1572. 35 reiþ] for L679. 35 aptr] ÷ L679. 1 þeg*ar*] + ad L679, L2404, L1572. 2–3 héldo þ*ei*r Hálfdán*ar* K*óng*ar af st*ad* m*eþ* m*ic*in*n* fjǫlda skipa o*c* m*anna*] ÷ L679. 4 q*v*oma] komu L679, L1572. 4 g*an*ga] geingu L679, L1572. 6 hin*n*] ÷ L679. 7 b*or*it hafþi] hafdi att L679. 7 s*em*] er L2404, L1572. 8 fjǫlkun*n*ug] + miöc L2404. 8 hamf*ar*ar] hamfara L679. 8 o*c*] ÷ L679. 9 o*c*] ÷ L679, L1572. 9 qvendi] kona L679, L1572. 9 k*ar*l] karlmadur L1572.

eþr hind, oc v*ar* Helga h*it* meirsta traust a*t* hen*n*i, hv*or*jo s*em* v*ar* a*t* sæta, fylgþi hún h*ǫnom* jafnan, þá h*ann* t*il* no*ck*urra stórræþa fe*r*þaþist. Nú er at greina frá Ol*afi* K*óngi* a*t* h*ann* heldr me*þ* he*r* sin*n* af st*ad*, oc hafþi þá Bíld og Vola me*þ* sér, stóþ nú allt h*ans*
119r traust á þeim báþ*om*, láta þe*ir* mi*c*it af sér, oc heita Ko*n*gi sínu ‖ fulltíngi. Sva v*ar* vetr*ar*lag, a*t* ec*k*i hafþi snærdrif*it*, e*n* ge*n*g*it* la*n*g frost me*þ* bj*ar*t vind*om*. K*óngi* greiþdist v*el* yf*ir* skóg oc me*r*kr, þ*ar* t*il* h*ann* q*v*om a*t* Væn*ir*, v*o*ro þ*ar* he*r*tjǫld þe*i*rra Svía þ*ar* f*yr*ir, beiþ þá ec*k*i lengi, þ*ar* t*il* a*t* hǫfst me*þ* þe*i*m b*ar*dagi, oc hin sn*ar*pasta orrusta. Svía*r* v*o*ro ákafafull*ir* oc íll*ir* viþr eign*ar*; þe*ir* ge*n*go í liþ Ol*afs* K*óngs* oc britjuþo niþr liþ h*an*s, s*em* gras á jǫrþo. Ol*afr* K*óngr* sókti á móti þe*i*m Svío*m* me*þ* meirsta drengskap; h*ann* slær oc leggr á báþ*ar* hendr oc v*ar* hin*n* ǫruggasti. Helgi Frækni v*ar* Oþdviti þe*i*rra Svía, e*n* Bíldr oc V*ol*e þe*i*rra N*or*þm*anna*, sne*r*i þá m*ann*fallino á Ol*af* K*óng* sva h*ann* t*ó*c a*t* tvíla u*m* sigor sæld sína, þ*ví* þá t*ó*c a*t* fæc*k*a liþ h*an*s, sva hópum gégndi, lá þá þe*i*m N*or*þmǫ*nnom* v*it* a*t* flýa. Ol*afr* K*óngr* b*at* me*nn* ei uppgéfast, drógst sva und*an* a*t* flóttan*om* yrþi fram*m*qvæmt, leiþ sva af dagurin*n* e*n* nóttin t*ó*c v*it*, v*ar* þá haldit uppi friþ*ar*skyldi, lét þá K*óngr* k*ann*a liþ sitt, hafþi þá fall*it* tæpr þriþjúngr af N*or*þmǫ*nnom*, sendi þá Ol*afr* K*óngr* ept*ir* liþi heim t*il* sín. An*nan* dag t*ó*cst aptr hin sn*ar*pasta orrusta, féllo þá m*ar*g*ir* af hv*or*j*om* f*yr*ir s*ic* sva fyrn*om* gégndi. Helgi sókti betst fram*m*, oc stóþ engin*n* v*it* hǫ*nom*, h*ann* drap bæþi m*enn* oc hesta, oc alla fylkíng f*or* h*ann* í gégn*om*. Þetta sjer Ol*afr* K*óngr* oc ríþr h*ar*þt fram*m*, oc biþr m*enn* ec*k*i und*an*leita. Þat heyrþi Bíldr oc snýr í móti Helga, oc hǫggr t*il* h*an*s af ǫllo megni. Helgi brá f*yr*ir skyldin*om*, e*n* sv*er*þ*it*

10 h*it*] ÷ L1572. 11 h*ann*] ÷ L679. 11 no*ck*urra] einhvórra L679. 12 greina] segja L1572. 12–13 m*eþ* h*er* sin*n* af st*ad*] af stad med her sinn L679. 13–14 h*ans* traust] traust hans L1572. 14 báþ*om*] ÷ L679. 15 l*ang*] langt L2404, langsamt L1572. 16 vind*om*] vidri L679, vidrum L1572. 16 v*el*] + ferdinn L679. 16 skóg] skoga L679. 17 v*o*ro þ*ar*] var þar fijrir L679, stódu L1572. 17 h*er*tjǫld] herlid L679. 17 þ*ei*rra] ÷ L679. 17 þ*ar* f*yr*ir] ÷ L679, fyrir L2404. 18 þá] þad L1572. 18 a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 18 hin sn*ar*pasta] og hórd L679. 20 britjuþo] + þad L679. 20 liþ h*an*s] ÷ L679. 21–22 á báþ*ar* hendr] til beggja handa L679. 24 liþ] herlid L679. 25 sva hópum gégndi] ÷ L679. 25 þá] ÷ L1572. 25 þ*ei*m] ÷ L679, L2404. 25 N*or*þmǫ*nnom*] + þá L1572. 26 m*enn*] þá L679. 26 yrþi] varþ ei L1572. 27 fram*m*qvæmt] vidkomid L679. 28 uppi] upp L1572. 28 friþ*ar*skyldi] fridskildi L1572. 30 dag] + eptir L1572. 31 hv*or*j*om* f*yr*ir s*ic*] hverotveggiom L2404. 32 stóþ] stódst L679, L2404. 32 v*it*] fyrir L1572. 32 alla] hvórja L679. 33 h*ann*] hun L2404. 33 í] ÷ L679. 34 snýr í] sneri L679. 35 brá] b[or] L679. 35 e*n*] so L679, oc L2404. 35–36 sv*er*þ*it* festist] festiz sverþit L2404.

festist í; þ*at* sá Helgi, o*c* snar*ar* sva h*ar*þt skjǫldin*n*, a*t* Bíld v*ar*þ laust sv*er*þ*it*; h*ann* blés þá vindi mót Helga, sva h*ǫnom* réþi t*il* falls o*c* misti vopna, h*ann* sjer hv*ar* lá ein eykar kylfa, h*an*a þrífr Helgi, o*c* reir*ir* h*an*a í hǫf*ut* á Bíld, || sva hausin*n* molaþist í p*ar*ta; Helgi lamdi h*ann* 119v
allan*n* í sundr, e*n* á m*ed*an þetta skéþi, áttust þ*ei*r v*it* Ol*afr* K*óngr* o*c* an*nar* K*óngr* þ*ei*rra Svía; Ol*afr* K*óngr* b*ar* eitt h*it* betsta sv*er*þ o*c* herklæþi, h*ann* hǫggr þ*ví* t*il* Hálfdáns, e*n* h*ann* brá v*it* skyldi, oc klofna*þi* h*ann* í tvenn*t*. Þá hjó Hálfdán t*il* Ol*afs* K*óngs* o*c* stemndi á hjálmin*n*. Þat sá Ol*afr* K*óngr* o*c* sn*e*ri v*it* hestin*om*, oc q*v*om hǫgg*it* á hestin*n* f*yrir* fram*an* bog*an*a o*c* þ*ar* í sundr u*m* þv*er*t. Olafr K*óngr* stǫ*ck* af baki fyrr e*n* gat fall*it*, o*c* q*v*om st*and*andi niþr, o*c* hjó á ǫxlina á Hálfdáni K*óngi* oc sneiþ of*an* h*er*þ*ar* blaþ*it* o*c* síþuna, fylgdi þ*ar* me*þ* hǫndin, féll þá Hálfdán K*óngr* v*ar* þá Ol*afr* K*óngr* m*ic*it móþr, e*n* lítt sár, sjer h*ann* þá fall m*anna* sin*n*a, er Helgi o*c* Hálfdán g*jǫr*þo, e*n* sin*n* átrún*at* Vola, sá h*ann* hv*or*gi, þeinkti K*óngr* a*t* han*n* m*un*di fallin*n* v*er*a, t*óc* þá Ol*afi* K*óngi* a*t* sýnast óvís sigorin*n*, þ*ar* s*em* a*t* báþ*ir* v*æ*ro falln*ir* Bíldr o*c* Vole.

XII kap*ituli*

Nú er a*t* s*egja* frá sendim*ann*i Ol*afs* K*óngs* a*t* h*ann* kémr heim, o*c* heimt*ar* liþ sam*an*, o*c* s*egir* Ol*afr* K*óngr* n*ær* þ*ví* yf*ir* un*nin*n; h*onom* v*er*þr lít*it* t*il* liþs, o*c* f*ær* ccc m*ana*; þetta fregn*ar* Svanh*vít* hún lætr t*ac*a jv far*ar*skjóta, o*c* sǫþla sér o*c* f*er*þast h*it* sn*ar*asta á fund Hró-
m*undar* þ*ei*r feþg*ar* fagna henn*i* m*eþ* meirsto blíþo, o*c* qváþo stór*ar*

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36 í] + honum L2404. 36 snar*ar*] sneri L1572. 36 sva h*ar*þt skjǫldin*n*] skildinum so hart L679, sva hart skyldinom L2404, so fast skiöldinn L1572. 36 Bíld] Býldi L2404. 37 mót] til L1572. 37 sva] oc L1572. 37 h*ǫnom* réþi] redi honum L1572. 37 t*il* falls] vid L679. 38 h*ann* sjer hv*ar* lá ein eykar kylfa, h*an*a þrífr Helgi] Helgi þrifur þá eina eikar kilfu L679. 38 reir*ir*] keirir L679, L2404, L1572. 39 h*an*a] ÷ L679. 39 Bíld] Býldi L2404. 39 h*ann*] + frá L679. 41 K*óngr* þ*ei*rra Svía] Svija Kongr L679. 41 b*ar* eitt h*it* betsta] hefþi ágætt L2404. 42 herklæþi] + in besto L2404. 42 þ*ví*] ÷ L679. 42 Hálfdáns] Halfdanar L679, + kongs L2404. 42 skyldi] skilldinum L679. 46 e*n*] + hann L679, L1572. 46 ǫxlina] øxl L1572. 47 á Hálfdáni K*óngi*] Halfdanar kongs L1572. 47 of*an*] af L1572. 47 h*er*þ*ar*] herda L679. 47 síþuna] + og L679, L2404. 48 K*óngr*] + og L2404. 48 þá] ÷ L2404. 48 m*ic*it] mióg L679. 49 lítt] ecki L679. 50 átrún*at*] átrunadr L679. 50 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 51 t*óc* þá] þá tók L1572. 51–52 a*t* báþ*ir*] ÷ L679. 52 v*æ*ro falln*ir*] fallnir vorú L679. 2 heimt*ar*] heimtir L679, L1572. 2–3 h*onom* v*er*þr] og verþr honum L2404. 3 ccc] iijc L2404. 3 fregn*ar*] friettir L679, L1572. 3 hún] og L679. 4 jv] vj L679. 4 f*er*þast] fer L679.

nýúng*ar* v*it* b*e*ra, a*t* slík*ir* géstir vitjuþo sin*n*a hýbýla, o*c* sǫgþo a*t* byrgja mætti polla o*c* brúa t*orfæro*r. Gr*eipr* bóndi b*at* h*ann*a þ*ar* dvelja o*c* hjá sér a*t* þyggja þ*at* villdi. Svanh*vít* s*egir* þ*ack*a bónda f*yrir* betsto sæmd*ar* boþ, o*c* segist leynd*ar*mál v*it* Hróm*und* ega, Vel er þ*at* s*egir* Gr*eipr* o*c* man h*ann* skyldr, fremr ǫþr*om*, yþr a*t* v*e*ita. Hróm*undr* o*c* Svanh*vít* g*en*go þá bæþi á einmæli, Hún m*ælir* þ*ess* eyrindis q*v*om e*c* nú at fin*n*a þ*ic*, a*t* mér er sagt a*t* Br*óþir* m*inn* sé n*ær* þ*ví* á flótta
120r r*ic*in*n*, e*n* m*ar*gt af h*onom* || fall*it* liþ h*an*s, villda e*c* nú a*t* þú f*yrir* min*n* vinskap, adstoþ veitt*ir* Ol*afi* K*óngi* br*óþr* m*ínom* Ofús er e*c* Ol*afi* K*óngi* liþ a*t* veita, þó e*c* gjæti, s*egir* Hróm*undr* f*yrir* þá skuld sérdeilisl*e*ga a*t* h*ann* úthellti blóþi þíno m*eþ* heipt*ar*fullri hendi, mín vegna, o*c* er þ*ví* réttvíst a*t* h*ann* nú njóti þ*ess*. Svanh*vít* m*ælir* fyrst sva v*ar*, a*t* e*c* útstóþ ǫrkumslit m*eþ* vilja f*yrir* þín*ar* sak*ir*, þá manto f*yrir* mín*ar* t*il*lǫgr liþsin*n*a. Hróm*undr* m*ælir* jafn*an* sýn*it* þ*it*, Jómfrú! yþ*ar* géþgjæþsko, e*n* v*it* dreng*ir* okkar h*ar*þlyndi. Svanh*vít* gé*ck* þá a*t* Hróm*undi* o*c* lagþi hendr u*m* háls h*onom*, o*c* m*ælir* e*ck*i manto þ*ess*i orþ mæla af alvǫro, heldr í gamni. Já, s*egir* Hróm*undr* f*yrir* alvǫro, þ*ví* f*yrir* fulla alvǫro pústraþi Ol*afr* K*óngr* þ*ic*, o*c* kallaþi þ*ic* dubbo, o*c* f*er* e*ck*i ílla þó at h*onom*, eþr h*an*s góþo gj*ǫr*þ*om*, blæþi or skrokk*om* líkt s*em* yþr, or ásjóno, o*c* seppa mín*om* Hrók t*il* fulls Svanh*vít* m*ælir* o*c* héldt e*n* hǫnd*om* u*m* háls h*an*s; tefþo nú e*c*k*i* a*t* gégna mér, þ*ess* er e*c* t*il* þín mæli. Sva skal v*e*ra, s*egir* Hróm*undr* o*c* þó e*c* vissi, a*t* e*c* mundi ei lífs aptr q*v*oma, þá vil e*c* gj*ar*n*an*, yþar vegna, Ol*afi* K*óngi* liþ v*e*ita slíkt s*em* e*c* má; h*ann* laut at Svanh*vít* o*c*

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6 slík*ir* géstir vitjuþo] slikr gestr vitjadi L1572. 6 sin*n*a] þeira L1572. 6 hýbýla] heim kinna L679. 7 o*c*] enn L679. 8 a*t*] ÷ L679. 8 þ*at*] + hun L679. 8 s*egir* þ*ack*a] þackar L679, L1572. 8–9 f*yrir* betsto sæmd*ar*] gott L679. 10 man h*ann*] munum vér L1572. 10 skyldr] + ad veita ydr L679, skildir L1572. 10 yþr a*t* v*e*ita] ÷ L679. 11 þá] ÷ L679. 11 bæþi] ÷ L2404. 11–12 q*v*om e*c* nú at fin*n*a þ*ic*] er eg kominn hingad L679. 12 þ*ví*] ÷ L679. 13 r*ic*in*n*] kominn L679. 13 e*n*] og L679. 13 nú] ÷ L679. 14 K*óngi*] ÷ L679. 14 br*óþr* m*ínom*] ÷ L2404. 15 Ol*afi* K*óngi*] honum L2404. 15 Hróm*undr*] + oc hellz L2404. 16 sérdeilisl*e*ga] sierdeilis L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 16 heipt*ar*fullri] heiptar L679. 17 þ*ví*] þad nú L679. 17 nú] ÷ L679, L2404. 18 a*t*] ÷ L679. 18 ǫrkumslit] órkumsl L679. 19 mín*ar*] + sakir L679. 19 t*il*lǫgr] ÷ L679. 19 liþsin*n*a] + kongi L1572. 19 þ*it*] þer L2404, L1572. 20 dreng*ir*] ÷ L1572. 21 a*t* Hróm*undi*] Rómundi at L2404. 22 mæla af alvǫro] af alvóru tala L679. 22 Já] ju L1572. 24 at h*onom*, eþr h*an*s góþo] hans L679, honum oc hanz miclo L2404, ad honum og L1572. 24 gj*ǫr*þ*om*] + hans L1572. 25 skrokk*om*] kroppnum L1572. 25 o*c*] eda L679. 25 seppa] racka L1572. 26 h*an*s] honum L679. 27 þín] ÷ L679. 27 o*c*] ÷ L2404. 28 a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 29 Svanh*vít*] henni L679.

minntist vit hana. Nú gjǫrþir þú vel, segir hún, oc er einn skjǫldr, er ec hefi hugat at géfa þér, oc þygg hann nú, hann man þér nockot duga, kunnir þú vit Helga Frækna at berjast, oc lát hann ecki þér frá hendi losna. Hrómundr mælir hefr þú heyrt at Helgi Frækni sé í þessom bardaga? Já, segir hún. Þá er tvísýnt um sigr, segir Hrómundr því at hann er hin meirsta kempa. Lífs manom vit aptr sjást, segir hún, oc tac nú vit sokkabandi míno, oc vef um úlfliþ þinn, nær þú hǫggr til Helga, oc mano þér fá hǫgg mistakast. Hrómundr þackaþi henni, oc bat hana orþlofs at fara. Hún mælti far þú manna lukko samastr, oc qvom heill eins aptr; skildo þau sva talit, ferþaþist Svanhvít ‖ 120v heim aptr meþ stærsto vyrþíng af Greipi bónda, oc sonom hans. Enn Hrómundr bjó ferþ sína austr til Vænirs; þeir bræþr spyrja hann at, hvort hann vilji þeir fylgi honom? Hann segir nei, því ecki vil ec at þat hljótit slis fyrir mínar sakir. Þat skal aldrei verþa, segja þeir, at þú einn útdragir til stríþs, en vit sitjom heima eptir, eþa þú fallir, en vit eptir lifom. Hrómundr mælir Forlǫgom verþr frestat, en fyrir þau ecki qvomist. Eptir þetta taca þeir bræþr at búa ferþ sína meþ Hrómundi snúa þeir þá allir austr til Vænirs, var þá Olafr Kóngr at meirsto flúinn, sem fyrr segir.

XIII kapítuli

Hrómundr lætr setja tjald sitt hino megin vatnsins, oc lét vera hraukstjald; þetta var á áliþnom degi, hann leggr sic til svefns, oc lætr ílla í svefni; at morgni vaknar hann, oc blæs mæþilega; þeir bræþr spyrja hann eptir draumom sínom, en hann qvaþst engom segja oc man ec ei út fara á þessom degi,[34] segir hann, þótt aþrir fari. Þeir

30 gjǫrþir] gjörir L679. 30 oc er] nu er hier L679, oc er hér L2404, L1572. 31 ec hefi hugat at] vil L2404. 31 nú] ÷ L1572. 32 kunnir] kunna þá L2404. 32 þú] + berst L2404. 32 at berjast] ÷ L2404. 33 sé] muni vera L679. 35 at] ÷ L679, L2404. 35 meirsta] besta L1572. 38 orþlofs] orlofs L2404. 39 eins] heim L1572. 39 talit] + og L1572. 40 aptr] ÷ L679. 40 vyrþíng] vjrdinu L679. 41 bræþr spyrja hann] spyrja hann brædr hans L1572. 41 at] ÷ L2404, L1572. 42–43 at þat] þid L679, ad þid L1572. 43 hljótit] hafid L1572. 44 einn] ÷ L679. 44 heima] ÷ L679. 45 en] og L679. 45 Forlǫgom] forlögunum L679. 45 en] + ei L1572. 46 þau ecki] ÷ L1572. 46 qvomist] + og L679. 46 þetta] þad L679. 48 sem fyrr segir] ÷ L2404. 1 lætr setja] lætr nú setja L679, setr L1572. 1 hino] hinum L679. 2 á áliþnom] ad lidnum L679. 4 en] ÷ L679. 5 segir hann] og L679. 5 fari] + segir hann L679.

34. L2404 repeats the sentence ‘hann leggr sic til svefns oc lętr illa i svefni’.

br*æþ*r s*egja* þá skul*om* v*it* samt f*ara*, er o*ss* þ*at* me*i*ri skǫm*m*, a*t* sitja hér í tjaldi v*oro*, þeg*ar* aþr*ir* v*it* egast, e*n* þ*at*, þó vér fǫll*om* me*þ* góþ*om* orþstýr. Hróm*undr* m*ælir* þ*it* manot ráþa ver*þa*, e*c* hefi sjálfr mín ráþ; ver*þ*r nú Hróm*undr* ept*ir*, e*n* þe*i*r br*æþ*r han*s* ríþa t*il* m*anna* Ol*afs* K*óngs* o*c* sækja bæþi v*el* o*c* lengi h*ar*þt fram*m*, fella þe*i*r þá m*arg**ann* m*ann*, sva undr*om* gégndi, v*ar*þ þá m*ar*gr maþr klofin*n* a*t* endilaungo, o*c* m*ar*gr fótlestr o*c* h*an*dar hǫggvin*n*, ásamt hǫfutlaus, mátti þá vaþa bæþi hesta o*c* m*anna* blóþ s*em* vatn v*æ*ri, héldo þe*i*r þ*ess**om* ákafa o*c* fram*m*sókn t*il* mids apt*an*s, þá dró upp þykkni í lopt*it*, sva a*t* skuggaþi, þe*i*r lito þá í lopt upp, o*c* sáo sto*r*a Álft fljúga yf*ir* sér, hún blés sva st*e*rkom anda a*t* þe*i*m br*æþr**om*, sva þá t*óc* a*t* krimpa v*it* af hita, ‖ o*c* stund*om* af kulda; þ*ess*i álft hafþi sva sto*r*a vængi, a*t* þe*i*r náþo yf*ir* M feta breiþa j*ar*þ*ar* víþd á iv vega mælt, stund*om* saung þ*ess*i fugl sva fagurt, a*t* me*nn* gáþo ei dauþa síns o*c* stóþo s*em* a*t* skémtun v*æ*ri á f*er*þ*om*, o*c* h*it* besta gleþi spil. Vit þetta ver*þa* þe*i*r br*æþ*r v*ar*ir at Helgi Frækni hǫggr niþr liþ Ol*afs* K*óngs* þe*i*r ríþa fram*m* hv*or* s*em* betst gétr, o*c* hǫggva o*c* leggja þá s*em* f*yrir* ver*þa*; þetta sá Helgi, o*c* ríþr á móti þe*i*m me*þ* meirsta kappi, dró þá yf*ir* skugg*ann* o*c* dym*m*o á sólun*n*i me*þ* sæt*om* o*c* yndisl*e*gom Svana lát*om*, sva alla furþaþi, bæþi N*or*þme*nn* oc Svía; syn*ir* Gr*eips* fylgþost all*ir* a*t* í ein*om* floc*k*i, o*c* gafo sic minst a*t* álft*ar* raustin*n*i, e*n* hún lét sva fagort, a*t* m*ǫnnom* féllst u*m* ver*k* sín; Miþt í þ*ess*ari saunglyst kémr Helgi a*t* þe*i*m br*æþr**om* o*c* hǫggr t*il* Haka o*c* klýfr ha*n*n at endilaungo; þá hitti h*ann* Gaut, af h*onom* sneiþ h*ann* hǫnd o*c* síþuna; þ*ar* ept*ir* v*ar*þ Haukr f*yrir* h*onom*, e*n* Helgi vóg h*ann*,

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7 þó] þótt L2404, L1572. 8 ver*þa*] + en L1572. 9 h*an*s] ÷ L679, L1572. 10 bæþi v*el* o*c* lengi] ÷ L1572. 10 fella] feldu L1572. 10 þá] so L1572. 11 sva] ad L1572. 11 v*ar*þ] var L1572. 12 h*an*dar] hand L679, L2404. 12 ásamt hǫfutlaus] oc höfutlaus L2404, ÷ L1572. 13 bæþi] ÷ L2404, L1572. 13 hesta o*c* m*anna* blóþ] manna blod og hesta L679, manna blóþ L2404. 14 í] á L1572. 15 lopt*it*] lopti L679. 15 a*t* skuggaþi] picknade L679. 16 sva] ad L679. 17 v*it*] ÷ L1572. 18 M] C L679. 18 breiþa] ÷ L679. 18 mælt] ÷ L1572. 20 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 20 o*c*] ÷ L679, L2404. 20 h*it* besta] hid mesta L679, ÷ L2404, hin mesta L1572. 20 gleþi spil] ÷ L2404, gledi L1572. 22 ríþa] + þá L1572. 22 betst] mest L679, meira L1572. 23 sá] sier L679, L1572. 24 skugg*ann*] scugga L2404. 24 dym*m*o] dimmuna L679. 25 lát*om*] saung L2404. 26 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 26 álft*ar*] svana L679. 27 féllst u*m*] flesta fiellust L679. 29 endilaungo] + oc fell Haki L2404. 29 hitti] hittir L679. 29–30 af h*onom* sneiþ h*ann* hǫnd o*c* síþuna] og hjö af hónum sijduna og hóndina L679, oc af honum sneiþ hann höndina meþ sýþonni L2404. 30 e*n*] ÷ L679, L1572, oc L2404. 30 Helgi vóg] vóg Helgi L2404.

oc kastaþi h*onom* í valin*n*; þá drap h*ann* Þrǫst, þá Helga oc Loga, þá klauf h*ann* Héþinn, oc síþarst allra þeirra hjó hann Angantýr t*il* b*an*a, voro þá falln*ir* all*ir* br*æþr* Hróm*undar* oc hǫfþo enga v*or*nveitt Helga eþr mótstǫþo, oc er fróþra m*anna* sǫgn, a*t* alft*ar* saungurin*n* mani h*afa* glapit þá; ept*ir* þetta slotaþi sv*an*a látun*om*, oc dró burt þykkn*it* oc dym*m*una sn*er*ist þá m*ann*fall*it* á Ol*af* K*óng* oc v*ar*aþi þ*at* t*il* qvǫlds, oc lauk sva b*ar*daganom ásamt degin*om*, lét þá Ol*afr* K*óngr* binda sár m*anna* sinna, þ*ví* m*argir* voro sár*ir*, hafþi þá sva fall*it* liþ h*ans*, a*t* ept*ir* v*ar* ekki nema hálft an*nat* hundraþ, þókti h*onom* e*n* s*em* opt*ar*, ílla fyr*ir* sér áh*or*fast, v*ar* þ*ví* h*ar*tnær flúin*n*. ‖ 121v

XIV kap*ítuli*

Þetta sama qvǫld q*v*om sendim*aþr* Ol*afs* K*óngs* m*eþ* liþ þ*at* er h*ann* hafþi t*il* qvaþt v*ar*þ þá Ol*afr* K*óngr* þ*ess*om feginn oc þóktist nú allra meina bættr, e*n* þó h*ar*maþi h*ann* meirst þá Bíld oc Vola. Nú q*v*omo Hróm*undi* frétt*ir*, a*t* þ*ei*r br*æþr* h*an*s væro falln*ir* f*yrir* Helga, h*ann* qv*aþ* s*ic* sva grun*at* hefþi a*t* fara m*un*di; e*n* qv*aþ* h*ann* hin*n* meirsta kappa oc hreysti man*n*. Um m*or*guninn býst Hróm*undr* snem*m*a t*il* orrusto, oc t*ec*r vopn sín. K*óngr* Ol*afr* v*e*it þá e*ck*i af Hróm*undi* a*t* segja, þ*ví* h*ann* hafþi tjald*at* hinomegin*n* Vænirs, oc þó afsíþis. Ol*afr* K*óngr* lét t*il* orrusto blása, furþaþi þá Svía, a*t* K*óngr* skyldi sva m*ar*gt liþ e*n* þá ept*ir* h*afa*, dróu þ*ei*r út sva sitt líþ m*eþ* lúþra blæstri oc vopna braki, t*óc* nú t*il* hin*n* h*ar*þasti b*ar*dagi, sva s*em* fyrri, t*óc* sva a*t* snúast m*ann*fall*it* á Ol*af* K*óng* þ*ví* Halfdán oc Helgi feldo alla þá s*em* f*yrir* urþo, oc stóþst engin*n* v*it* þ*ei*m af N*or*þmǫnnom.

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31 h*onom*] + daudum L679, L1572, daudum L2404. 31 þá] + vóg hann L2404. 31 oc] þa L679, + lagþi i gegnom L2404. 32 þ*ei*rra] ÷ L679. 32 hjó] vog L679. 32–33 t*il* b*an*a] ÷ L679. 35 mani h*afa*] hafi L679. 37 þ*at*] + allt L679. 37 oc] ÷ L679. 38 binda] + um L679, L1572. 39 ept*ir* *var* ekki] ecki var eptir L679, ei voro eptir L2404. 40 e*n* *sem* opt*ar*] þá sem flestum L679, enn L1572. 40 fyr*ir* sér áh*or*fast] áhorfast fijrir sier og L679, + og L2404, L1572. 2 þá Ol*afr*] ÷ L679. 4 frétt*ir*] fregnir L679. 4 þ*ei*r] ÷ L1572. 5 hefþi] hafa L679, L2404, L1572. 5–6 hin*n* meirsta kappa] hinna mestan kapps L679, L2404, L1572. 6 man*n*] vegna L679, L2404, L1572. 6 býst] bióst L679. 7 K*óngr* Ol*afr*] Olafur Kongur L679, L2404, L1572. 8 þó] þad L679. 9 t*il* orrusto] í lúdr L1572. 9 furþaþi] furdar L679. 10 þá] ÷ L679, L2404. 10 ept*ir*] ÷ L679. 10 út sva] so út L679, L1572, oc út meþ L2404. 11 t*óc*] tókst L679, L2404. 11 t*il*] ÷ L679, L2404. 11 sva] ÷ L679. 12 sva] nú L2404, þá enn L1572. 12 m*ann*fall*it*] mannfallinu L679. 13 þá] ÷ L679. 13 s*em*] er L1572. 13 stóþst] stód L679.

Hróm*undr* ver̄r þes*s*a vís oc tec*r* h*ann* þá til a*t* britja stór*om*, bæþi a*t* hǫggva oc leggja, hrukko þá all*ir* und*an* s*em* gáto for̄þ*at* sér, oc víldo flýa, e*n* Fyr*ir*sjón*ar*m*enn* Svía báþo ei uppgéfast, sýndist þá fleyrst*om* a*t* sýna dád oc drengskap, ept*ir* þ*ví* s*em* hvǫr v*ar* m*aþr* t*il*. Nú kémr Hróm*undr* þ*ar* a*t* s*em* þe*ir* br*æþr* h*an*s hǫfþo fall*it* dagin*n* áþr í Valin*n*,[35] h*ann* brá sér lítt v*it*, oc m*ælir* þ*at* man líkast a*t* ec leiti ept*ir* y*ck*r hefndar, sva s*em* Helgi ept*ir* Hraungviþ, litast h*ann* nú u*m* a*t* finn*a* h*ann*, oc loksins sér h*ann* a*t* Helgi er skamt á burt; h*ann* ren*n*r á skunda á móts v*it* h*ann*; er Helgi sjer h*ann*, s*egir* h*ann*: hér erto nú q*v*omin*n*, s*em* gafst Hraungv*iþ* for̄þ*om* hǫgg*it* me*þ* kylfun*n*i, ut*an*
122r undl‖lir v*ang*a*nn*, sva h*ann* hefr ec*k*i vakn*at* síþ*an*, hefi e*c* lítit hefnt h*an*s á br*æþr*o*m* þín*om*, jafnv*el* þó þú lét*ir* græþa sár mín Hróm*undr* m*ælir* m*ǫrg*om* hefr betr far*it* e*n* þér, oc manto ílla u*m*bun hljóta. Heit mín v*ar*þ ec a*t* efna, s*egir* Helgi hv*aþ* s*em* ǫþro leiþ, oc mátto vyrþa á þ*ann* veg, s*em* þú villt, e*n* ec*k*i hræþist e*c* þ*ic*, þó a*t* þú haf*ir* sókt Mistiltein í haug Þráins, oc n*ær* mátto g*an*ga ef þú villt hefna Fr*ænda* þinn*a*. Hróm*undr* m*ælir* þú mant lítt t*il* fær f*yrir* þá sǫk, a*t* þú hefr me*þ* fer̄þis sva þúngt oc breiþt sverþ, a*t* þú k*ant* þ*ví* ec*k*i a*t* valda, oc f*yrir* þ*ví* v*il* ec ljá þér Mistiltein s*em* er m*i*clo léttar*i*. Helgi m*ælir* ec*k*i þ*ar*fto a*t* frýa mér u*m* burþa leysi þ*ví* me*þ* þes*s*o sama vopni helsló e*c* alla þína br*æþr*, oc v*ar*þ þ*at* alblóþugt a*t* hjǫlt*om*. J þes*s*o sama bili sló yf*ir* dym*m*o oc myrkri oc sæt*om* sv*an*a hljóþ*om*, f*or* þá s*em* fyrr, a*t* m*enn* gáþo sín ec*k*i, s*em* skyldi, e*n* Hróm*undr* gaf s*ic* ec*k*i

14 h*ann*] ÷ L679. 14 þá til] þá L679, til L2404. 14 stór*om*] stort L1572. 14–15 bæþi a*t* hǫggva oc leggja] ÷ L679. 16 Fyr*ir*sjón*ar*m*enn*] fyrer menn L679, höfþingiar L2404. 17 drengskap] dugnad L1572. 18 þe*ir*] ÷ L679, L1572. 18 br*æþr* h*an*s] hanns brædur L679. 18 dagin*n*] deginum L1572. 19 h*ann* brá] brá hann L679. 20 y*ck*r hefndar] hefndir yckar L679, yckar hefndum L1572. 20 u*m*] vid L1572. 21 á burt] i burt þadan L679, i burt L1572. 22 á skunda] med skunda L679, ÷ L2404, af skunda L1572. 22 móts v*it* h*ann*] á möti hónum enn L679, + og L1572. 22 sjer] sá L679. 22 s*egir*] mælir L1572. 23 for̄þ*om*] ÷ L2404. 24 hefi] hef L679, L2404, L1572. 26 far*it*] farist L679. 26 u*m*bun] umbuna L1572. 26 hljóta] Helgi mælir L1572. 27 s*egir* Helgi] ÷ L679, L1572. 28 þó a*t*] þott L679. 30 t*il*] ÷ L679, L1572. 31 me*þ* fer̄þis sva þúngt] þungt vopn med ferdis L679. 31 sver̄þ] ÷ L679. 32 oc] ÷ L679. 32 f*yrir*] ÷ L2404. 33 sama] ÷ L679. 34 alla þína] allar þínar L2404. 34 alblóþugt] blodúgt L679. 34 þes*s*o] þessum L679, L2404. 35 sama] ÷ L1572. 35 dym*m*o oc myrkri oc sæt*om* sv*an*a hljóþ*om*] miklum og yndislegúm svana látum og dimmum L679. 35–36 f*or* þá s*em* fyrr, a*t*] sem fyrr so L1572. 36 skyldi] skilldu L679.

35. Dittography in L679, 'í valinn'.

at þesso; þá tóc álftin at verþa heldr mannvǫn, oc settist niþr nærri þeim, en stundom flaug hún skammt í lopti, fyrir ofan hǫfuþ manna. Nú tóco þeir Helgi oc Hrómundr at berjast meþ hinom meirsta ákafa, oc var eigi gaman at horfa á þeirra vitskipti, voro þar báþir jafn vopnfimir oc harþfengir; þá varþ Helga litit á hǫnd Hromundi hann mælir ílla manto vit una kuldann, þá þú ⸌hefr⸍ sockaband kjærosto þinnar tekit meþ þér at skilnaþi, oc er þat því at þacka, en ecki þinni hreysti, þó at þú verþir hvorki sár né móþr, oc er þat sannferþugt, at þú trúir á hana. Vit þetta reiþdist Hrómundr oc hǫggr til Helga oc í skjǫldinn, oc klýfr hann, Þesso veldr trú þín á sockabandino, segir Helgi, oc hafa ecki allir slíko at hrósa. Þá sleit Hrómundr bandit af hendi sér, || oc kastaþi ⸌niþr⸍ Helgi hjó til Hrómundar oc stemndi á 122v
ǫxlina, Hrómundr brá sér lítit undan á hliþina, oc gat ecki sverþit rammat hana, þó féck Hrómundr sár á lærit. Hrómundr villdi þá aptr hǫggva til Helga, en hann bar fyrir skjǫldinn, oc rendi af honom fjórþa partinn oc qvom vit kálfan, oc nam af utan fótar vǫþva. Þá hjó Helgi til Hrómundar oc stemndi á hjálminn. Hrómundr ljóp í lopt upp aptr á bak, varþ þá Alftin fyrir honom, hann hrǫslaþist yfir hana, en Helgi sókti á eptir, Alftin flaug upp líka oc varþ fyrir sverþino oc tóc þat í sundur í hennι lærlegginn, datt hún þá í kono líki daud niþr. Þá mælir Hrómundr níþíngr erto Helgi í fleyro eneino, fyrst at launa ílla lækníng þína vit mic, oc síþan at fjǫr fletta fangkono þína. Enginn em ec níþíngr fyrir græþslo þína, segir Helgi, heldr sýndi ec æro í loforþi vit Frænda minn, hvorn ec elskaþi meir en líf mitt; en þat sem Vinkono mína hendti, man hún mér forláta, þá vit

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37 þesso] þvj L679. 37 álftin] + helldr L679. 37 heldr] ÷ L679. 37 niþr] + helldr L679. 38 hún] + upp L679. 38 í lopti] ÷ L679. 39 ákafa] + og á eggjann L679. 40 þar] þeir L679, L2404. 40–41 vopnfimir] vigfimir L679. 41 hann] og L1572. 42 kuldann] kulda L679. 42 þá] þar L679, því L2404. 42 ⸌hefr⸍] + tekid L679. 42 sockaband] sockabandid L679. 42 kjærosto þinnar] af unnústú þinni L679. 43 tekit] ÷ L679. 44 sannferþugt] sannferdugast L679, satt L2404, sannast L1572. 44 þú] ÷ L2404. 45 hana] þá qonu L2404. 48 stemndi] hió L1572. 49 á hliþina] ÷ L679. 50 hana] hann L679, L2404. 51 bar] bra L679. 51 fyrir skjǫldinn] vid skilldinum L679. 52 partinn] part L679. 52 vit kálfan] ÷ L679. 52 oc nam af utan fótar vǫþva] á fotinn útann verdann og nam af vódvann L679. 54 varþ þá] og vard L679. 55 á] ÷ L679. 55 líka] i þessu L1572. 57 Helgi] ÷ L679. 57 fleyro] fleiri L1572. 58 fangkono] filgikonu L679. 59 þína] + Helgi mælti L679. 59 em] er L679, L1572. 59 segir Helgi] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 60 loforþi] + mijnu L679, L2404. 60 líf] lijfid L679. 61 mér forláta] forlata mier fridsamlega L679. 61 þá] + er L679.

finnumst friþsamlega í Valhǫll, oc gyldti eino hvor hann var, sem lauk upp fyrir hennι, en ec man qvoma til hennar snarlega. Þá ljóp Helgi at Hrómundi oc hjó sva tíþt at honom, at Hrómundr gjǫrþi ei betr en verjast meþ skyldinom þar til at Hrómundr héldt eptir tómom mundriþanum, oc litlom parti þar meþ. Þá segir Helgi: nú er ec búinn at hǫggva Fulltrúa þinn hinn annan, oc sjerþo nú betst, hvaþ hann dugir. Hrómundr gleimdi þá orþom Svanhvítar oc fleygþi niþr því sem hann héldt eptir af skyldinom, oc hǫggur af reiþi mót Helga, en hann varþist ágjæta vel, oc géck sva lengi þeirra á milli, oc þókti fleyrstom sem eldíngar flýgi af sverþom þeirra. Eitt sinn hjó Helgi til Hrómundar oc stemndi í andlit hans. Hrómundr veik sér á hop aptr á bak, en sverþit gat snortit á Hrómundi holdit
123r á bríngunni, oc sva ljóp ‖ þat ofan allan qviþinn, oc risti hann inn at Jstro oc sva á kaf ofan í vǫllinn upp at hǫndom. Helgi mælir nú er auþna mín úti oc enduþ, at ec misti þín. Helga varþ ófljótt at fá losat sverþit or jorþunni, en þat sá Hrómundr oc brá Mistilteini í lopt upp á Háls Helga, sva í eino aftók hǫfuþit, féll sva Helgi, einn hinn ágjætasti oc fræknasti maþr, er verit hefr, oc er hans víþa gétit í ǫþrom sǫgom, þókti nú Svíom stor missir at honom verþa. J viþreign þeirra Hrómundar oc Helga, hafþi Hrómundr eitt sinn hǫggvit af hjálmbarþit Helga, oc hǫfþo brotnat mǫrg skǫrþ þá í eggina á Mistilteini. Eptir dauþa Helga, tóc Hrómundr at hǫggva meþ ákaflegri frammgaungo þá Svía; suma klauf hann at endilaungo; af sumom hjó hann hendr eþa fætr, sumom hǫfuþ, suma sundr í miþjo; hann helsló bæþi menn oc hesta, oc valkǫsturinn varþ honom í miþti, oc

62 finnumst] finnustum L679. 62 friþsamlega] ÷ L679, L2404. 63 lauk upp] upp lauk L679. 65 verjast] verja sig fijrir hónum L679. 65 at Hrómundr] hann L679, Hrómundr L1572. 65 eptir] + á L679. 67 hinn] ÷ L679, þann hinn L1572. 69 niþr] ÷ L1572. 69 hann héldt] ÷ L679. 69 af skyldinom] var L679. 69–70 af reiþi mót Helga] á moti Helga af reidi L679. 71 fleyrstom] ÷ L1572. 71 eldíngar] ellding L679. 71 sverþom þeirra] sverdi hans L679. 73 á] um L1572. 73 hop] hæl L679. 74 bríngunni] bringuna L679. 74 sva ljóp] hliop so L1572. 74 þat] ÷ L1572. 75 Jstro] Jstrum L679. 75 sva á kaf] sóck þad L1572. 75 Helgi] Hellga hann L679, L1572. 76 oc enduþ] ÷ L2404. 76 ófljótt] eij fljott L679. 77 en] ÷ L1572. 77 Mistilteini] Mistiltein L1572. 78 upp] + og L679. 78 Helgi] + hinn fræknasti L679. 78–79 einn hinn] og L679. 79 oc fræknasti] ÷ L679. 80 ǫþrom] ÷ L2404. 80 þókti nú Svíom stor missir at honom verþa] ÷ L1572. 81 af] á L679. 82 hǫfþo] + þá L679. 82 brotnat] + þá L2404. 82 þá] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 83 at hǫggva meþ] ÷ L2404. 83 ákaflegri] kallmannlegri L679, ákaflega L2404. 84 frammgaungo] at beriaz L2404. 85 eþa] og L679, L1572. 85 fætr] + oc af L2404. 86 varþ] var L679. 86–87 oc báþar] ÷ L1572.

báþ*ar* sín*ar* alblóþugar hendr b*ar* h*ann* a*t* ǫxlo*m*, gé*ck* sva þ*ess*i har*þa* orrusta t*il* nætor. Ola*fr* K*óngr* hafþi b*a*rist me*þ* betsta drengskap, o*c* allt liþ h*an*s u*m* dagin*n*, þá v*ar* m*a*rgt af þ*ví* fall*it*, lauk sva degino*m*, e*n* dymma næturin*nar* t*óc* v*it*, sne*ro* þá all*ir* t*il* he*r*búþa sin*n*a, oc tóco náþ*ir*, e*n* þe*ir* s*ær*þo léto binda u*m* sár sín. Hrómu*ndr* snýr þá t*il* tjalds síns yf*ir* u*m* vatn*it*; h*ann* ge*n*gr á Jsin*n* oc ætl*ar* heim, sjer h*ann* m*a*nn ein*n* st*an*da á Jsno*m*, o*c* er a*t* rista rún*ir* á ísin*n*, sva a*t* allr v*ar* ísin*n* s*em* ein skrifuþ bók; þ*at* sá e*ck*i Hrómu*ndr* a*t* rún*ir*n*ar* v*oro* f*yrir* fót*om* h*an*s; h*ann* þykist kén*n*a þ*ar* Vola kompán sin*n*, me*þ* stál sprota í hendi sér, me*þ* hv*orjom* h*ann* risti rún*ir*n*ar*. Hrómu*ndr* leypr þeg*ar* a*t* Vola, e*n* han*n* blæs sva h*ar*þt a*t* Hrómu*ndi* a*t* Mis-
tiltein*n* hraut l*angan* veg or hendi h*an*s, o*c* þ*at* í lopti, sva lengi saung
í því. ‖ Þat b*ar* t*il*, a*t* þ*ar* s*em* þ*at* q*v*om niþr, v*ar*þ f*yrir* þ*ví* st*or* rifo 123v
sprúnga, á Jsno*m*, þ*at* hitti á rifuna, o*c* féll sva t*il* botns; vatn*it* v*ar* lx faþma djúpt; Vole hló o*c* m*ælir*: nú erto feigr þú hinn f*an*tr o*c* qven*n*a skratti! a*t* þú mist*ir* sv*er*þ*it* or hendi þér. Ovíst er þ*at*, s*egir* Hrómu*ndr* Vole vill þá hǫggva t*il* h*an*s me*þ* sv*er*þi, e*n* Hrómu*ndr* ljóp a*t* Vola, o*c* náþi hǫnd*om* u*m* háls á Vola, e*n* h*ann* t*óc* á móti, urþo þá e*ck*i l*angar* sviptíng*ar*, þ*ar* t*il* a*t* Hrómu*ndr* fær*þi* Vola í lopt upp, o*c* síþ*an* niþr flat*ann* á Jsin*n*. Þá m*ælir* Hrómu*ndr* Nú lítst mér a*t* þú sért feigr engu síþr e*n* e*c*, o*c* skal þér nú a*t* gagni v*er*þa l*an*gr rógr o*c* álýgi, líka hefi e*c* lengi hugsat þér kaup f*yrir* Hrók min*n*,

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87 sín*ar*] ÷ L2404, L1572. 87 alblóþugar] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 87 hendr] ÷ L1572. 87 b*ar*] hafþi L2404, ÷ L1572. 87 h*ann*] + bloduga L679, + blóþugar L2404, ÷ L1572. 87 a*t* ǫxlo*m*] til axla L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 87 sva] ÷ L1572. 87 har*þa*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 88 orrusta] + allt L1572. 88 betsta] mesta L679. 89 þá] þó L2404, L1572. 89 lauk sva degino*m*] ÷ L1572. 90 e*n*] ad L679, L2404, ÷ L1572. 90 dymma] ÷ L1572. 90 næturin*nar*] ÷ L679, L1572. 90 t*óc*] ÷ L1572. 90 v*it*] ÷ L679, L1572. 90 þá] nú L679, L1572. 90 sin*n*a] ÷ L679. 91 e*n*] og L1572. 91 þe*ir* s*ær*þo] ÷ L1572. 91 u*m*] ÷ L1572. 93 h*ann*] + þá L679. 93 m*ann* ein*n*] eirn mann L679. 93 ísin*n*] hann L679. 93 a*t*] ÷ L679. 95 v*oro*] urdu L679. 95 h*an*s] + enn L679. 95 kén*n*a þ*ar*] þar kienna L679, þar L2404. 95 sin*n*] + kenna L2404. 96 stál sprota] stafbroti L1572. 96 hv*orjom*] hvorju L1572. 98 l*angan* veg] langt L679, ÷ L2404, langa leid L1572. 98 h*an*s] hönum langan veg L2404. 99 því] honum L2404. 99 Þat b*ar t*il, a*t*] enn L679. 99 v*ar*þ] var L679. 99 st*or*] ÷ L679. 100 á rifuna] sprunguna L679. 100 sva] ÷ L679. 100 botns] + enn L679. 100 v*ar*] er L679. 101 faþma] feta L1572. 101 þú hinn] þinn L679, L2404, L1572. 104 Vola] hónum L679. 104 á Vola] hans L679, L1572. 104 móti] + og L679. 105 þá] ÷ L679. 105 a*t*] ÷ L679. 105 í] a L679. 106 o*c*] + færþi L2404. 106 niþr flat*ann*] flatann nidr L679. 108 álýgi] lijgi L679. 108 hefi] hef L679, L2404. 108 lengi] ÷ L679.

sem þú myrdt*ir* f*or*þ*om* saklausan*n* af tómri ǫfund v*it* m*ic*. Vole t*óc* þá a*t* blása veþri á Hróm*und* e*n* Hróm*undr* her*þ*ti þá a*t* hálsi h*an*s
m*eþ* greipun*om*, þ*ar* t*il* a*t* h*ann* hengdi Vola m*eþ* háls kyrkíngo, o*c* lauk sva Vole æfi sin*n*i m*eþ* aum*om* dauþdaga. Ept*ir* þetta settist Hróm*undr* niþr á Jsin*n*, styrþr, sár o*c* móþr, e*n* myrkr o*c* frosth*ar*ka v*ar* m*ic*il, þóktist h*ann* nú ílla haldin*n*; Vatn*it* v*ar* rifn*at* u*m* þv*er*t, e*n* qviþr h*an*s ristr, o*c* sjálfor sár ok móþr, e*n* þ*at* v*er*sta þókti h*onom*,
a*t* Mistilteinn v*ar* h*onom* tapaþr; t*óc* h*ann* þá a*t* telja sér tǫlr, o*c* s*egir* v*it* sjálf*an* s*ic*: nú hefi e*c* feng*it* mǫrg sár, f*yrir* orþ Svnahv*ítar* e*c* hefi mist mína viij br*æþ*r, o*c* mitt góþa sv*er*þ fæ e*c* aldrei aptr á min*n*i æfi, o*c* nú sýnist vísastr dauþin*n*. Hróm*undr* leggst nú f*yrir* u*m* stund, o*c* te*c*or h*ann* þá t*il* a*t* styrþna o*c* kólna, skreiþist h*ann* þá á fót o*c* villdi
eitthvaþ t*il* ráþs t*ac*a, v*ar*þ h*onom* þ*at* fyrst, a*t* h*ann* hratt in*n* Jstrun*n*i í qviþin*n*, o*c* tók linda kníf sin*n* o*c* stakk f*yrir* m*eþ* oþdin*om*, h*ann* rakti g*ar*n or armb*an*dino o*c* saumaþi m*eþ* þ*ví*, síþ*an* vafþi h*ann* a*t*
124r sér klæþ*om*, o*c* leggst f*yrir* aptr, o*c* v*ar* nú n*ær*sta v*it* hnoll, þó var ‖
bj*art* heiþi o*c* frostit, s*em* t*óc* a*t* leggja Vatn*it*, lá Hróm*undr* sva u*m*
stund, a*t* e*ck*ert v*ar*þ t*il* a*d*stoþ*ar*.

XV kap*ítuli*

Litlo ept*ir* þetta, v*er*þr Hróm*undr* v*ar* v*it* þ*at* a*t* tek*it* er á h*onom*, o*c* sp*urþ* a*t*: gétr þú tal*at* v*it* m*ic* Hróm*undr* eþr e*ck*i? Hróm*undr* m*ælir* v*ar*la er þ*at* sva af megi segja, eþa hv*or* er sá er leit*ar* máls af mér?

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110 veþri] vedr L1572. 110 á Hróm*und*] ad Hromundi L679. 110 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 111 a*t*] ÷ L679. 112 sva Vole æfi sin*n*i] hann svo sijnu lijfi L679. 112 aum*om*] illom L2404, L1572. 115 o*c*] enn L679, ÷ L1572. 115 sjálfor sár ok móþr] ÷ L1572. 115 v*er*sta þókti h*onom*] þotti honum verst L679. 116 h*onom*] ÷ L679. 117 hefi] + og L679. 118 á min*n*i æfi] á æfi minni L679, ÷ L1572. 119 sýnist] + mier L679, L2404, L1572. 119 dauþin*n*] daudi fijrstr minna lijfsdaga L679, daudi L2404, L1572. 119 Hróm*undr* leggst] legst hann L679, L2404, L1572. 119 nú] þá L679. 119 f*yrir*] nidr L1572. 120 h*ann* þá] þá Hromundr L679, L1572, Romundr þa L2404. 120 fót] fætr L679, L2404. 121 v*ar*þ] verdr L679. 121 h*onom*] + þar L2404. 121 hratt] hrindir L679. 121 in*n*] ÷ L1572. 124 klæþ*om*] klæþinn L2404. 124 hnoll] hroll L679, L1572. 124 þó] þá L679, L2404, L1572. 124 var] ÷ L2404. 125 bj*art* heiþi] heiþbiart L2404. 125 o*c*] ÷ L679. 125 frostit] frost L679, micit frost L2404. 125 s*em*] og L679, sva vatnit L2404, ÷ L1572. 125 t*óc*] + nu til L679. 125 Vatn*it*] ÷ L2404. 125 sva] þá L2404. 1 þ*at*] ÷ L679. 1 h*onom*] fotum hans L679. 2 sp*urþ* a*t*] sagt L679. 2 gétr] tekr L2404. 2 Hróm*undr*] ÷ L679. 3 sva] ÷ L1572. 3 af] ÷ L679, L1572. 3 megi segja] ÷ L1572. 3 er] sem L1572. 3 af mér] vit mic L2404.

honom var sagt Hagall er nafn mitt, oc á ec eyrindi at finna þic, oc
5 ber þic at setjast upp oc tala vit mic, því ecki má tefja. Hrómundr bar sic þá at setjast upp, oc leit í kríngom sic, sá hann þá einn gamlan mann oc ij Jómfrúr, kéndi hann þar systr Olafs Kóngs Svanhvít oc Dagnýo, var þangat qvomen vagn oc hestar; þær qveþja Hrómund en hann gleþst vit qvomo þeirra, þær biþja Hagal at taca Hrómund
10 upp á vagninn, en hann segist til reyna at qvomast sjálfr, vildi þá Hrómundr uppstanda, oc gat ecki. Þá mælir Hrómundr karli hvorjom kémr örverpi, oc sama hendir mic nú. Þá foro þau þrjú til, Hagall oc Jómfrúnnar, at qvoma Hrómundi í Vagninn oc gáto varla, fyrir þýngslom hans; síþan óko þau honom til skógar, í eitt fagurt rjóþr,
15 varþ þar fyrir þeim lítill Bær, oc vel umvendtr, þar kom ein kérlíng út til þeirra oc hjálpaþi Hrómundi or vagni til hvílo, var þá dregit af Hrómundi at varla mátti mæla fyrir kulda sakir, oc blóþrás; tóco þær þá at tendra elda oc til búa heita drycki at lífga hann á, líka at þvo hann oc sauma qviþ hans, var þá karlinn Hagall hinn fornemsti
20 oc ráþugasti í því at lífga Hrómund tóc hann hraþt vit at hressast oc hjarna. Þá géck Svanhvít til ‖ hans oc mælir Nú verþom vit systr, 124v at skilja vit þic, oc hefi ec fengit þér hús oc hjúkrún hér á laun; vit fengom þennann mann at vitja þín, oc eins at græþa þic, oc man kerlíng hans kunna at fræþa menn á eina oc aþra luti, því at hún er
25 forn í brögþom. Hrómundr mælir mest þykir mér um Mistiltein, at ec misti hann. Svanhvít mælir fleyra verþr at nýta en gott eitt, oc kanto at fá þat bætt, ef lengi lifir. Hrómundr þakkar henni fyrir allan sinn starfa, oc skiljast þau at síþan. Svanhvít mælir til Hagals: Nú biþ

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4 honom var sagt] ÷ L679. 5 mic] + ef gietr L679. 6 sá hann] hann sá L679, L2404. 6 þá] ÷ L2404. 7 þar] þær L1572. 8 Dagnýo] Dagni L679. 8 hestar] hestr L1572. 9 taca] færa L2404. 10 segist til reyna at qvomast sjálfr] letz mundi sialfr til reyna L2404. 11 oc] en L1572. 12 kémr] + ad L679, L2404, L1572. 13 Hrómundi] + upp L679. 13 varla] þad naumast L679. 15 varþ þar] þar var L679. 15 umvendtr] um buid L679, umvendt L1572. 15 ein] ÷ L2404. 16 út] ÷ L679. 16 hjálpaþi Hrómundi] hromundi hiálpadi L1572. 16 vagni] vagninu L679, vagninum L1572. 16–17 þá dregit af Hrómundi] so af honum dregid L1572. 17 at] so L679. 17 varla mátti mæla] varla mátti hann mæla L679, L2404, hann mátti valla mæla L1572. 18 elda] elld L679. 19 þá] ÷ L679. 19–20 fornemsti oc] ÷ L2404. 20 í því] ÷ L679, L2404. 20 hraþt] nú braþr L2404. 21 oc] ÷ L2404. 21 hjarna] + og L679, ÷ L2404. 22–23 vit fengom] höfom viþ fengit L2404. 23 oc] ÷ L679. 24 kunna] gieta L679. 24 at fræþa] frætt L679. 24 menn] þig L679. 24 at] ÷ L679. 25 þykir] þiki L679. 26 ec misti] missa L679. 26 Svanhvít mælir] ÷ L679. 27 fyrir] ÷ L679. 28 at] ÷ L679.

ec þic fyrir Hrómund at þú oc kona þín gjǫrit þat betsta þit gétit til vit
Hrómund sva lengi sem hann þarf þess vit, en ec man sjálf láta yckor
vita, at mér betr kan at þykja at hann lifir. Þau qváþo slíkt skyldo til
láta, er hefþo; ferþuþust þær síþan burt, Svanhvít oc Dagný oc er ei
gétit um ferþ þeirra. Enn Hrómundr tóc at hressast, sva hann komst af
reckjo, þegar hafþi legit hálfan mánuþ, læknaþi kerlíng Hagals hann
`sem hiet´ Haddýs, oc veitti honom betsta umbúþ at kosti oc klæþom,
oc ǫllo því sem vit þurfti, Einosinni qvom hún at máli vit Hrómund
oc mælir hvornig kanto vit þic hér í kotino? Vel segir hann, oc einkis
þykir mér ábóta vant, nema mic vantar Mistiltein. Ecki er hann at
sorga, segir Haddýs, því hann er í þeim stat, sem enginn hefr hǫnd
á. Hrómundr mælir hvaþ segir þú mér af Olafi Kóngi oc sigrsæld
hans? Hún mælir þat hygg ec, at annathvort séo þeir sættir Hálfdán
oc hann, eþa þeir halda uppi bardaganum til annars árs, man þat
125r því valda at Helgi er fallinn Landvarnarmaþr || Hálfdánar Kóngs.
Ekki lifnar hann aptr, segir Hrómundr. Hún mælir maþr er sá meþ
Halfdáni, er Blindr heitir, hann er fárra líki, enn fleyrstra jafni, at
því sem íllt er, hann er bæþi gǫldróttr oc falskr, hann er heimuglegt
Ráþaneyti Hálfdánar Kóngs hefr Kóngr beþit hann at leita upp þann
mann sem feldi Helga, oc heitir honom hinom stærsto gjǫfom, liggr
hann úti um þat meþ forneskjoskap, at frétta hann upp hvar hann

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29 þic] ÷ L679. 29 Hrómund] ÷ L679. 29 gjǫrit] veitit honum L2404. 29 þat] þid L679, it L2404. 29 þit gétit] ÷ L679, sem kunnit L2404. 29 til] ÷ L2404. 29–30 vit Hrómund] hans L679, ÷ L2404. 30 sva lengi] ÷ L2404. 30 sem] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 hann þarf þess] ÷ L2404. 30 vit] med L679, ÷ L2404. 30 en ec man sjálf] oc man ek L2404. 31 betr kan at] betr L679, kann betr L2404. 31 þykja] þickir L679. 31 at] ef L2404. 31 qváþo] + göra L2404. 31 skyldo] skillda L679, ÷ L2404, slikt skildum L1572. 31–32 til láta] er mátto L2404. 32 er hefþo] ok til hefþo L2404. 32 síþan] sijstr i L679. 32 burt] heim L2404. 32 Svanhvít oc Dagný] ÷ L679. 34 þegar] þá hann L679, + hann L2404, L1572. 34 hann] hans L679. 35 `sem hiet´ Haddýs] sem Haddijs hiet L679. 35 umbúþ] um bun L679. 35 at] af L679, L1572. 36 vit] hann L679, med L1572. 37 einkis] eckert L679. 40 mælir] segir L679. 40 hvaþ] ÷ L679. 40 sigrsæld] sigrsældom L2404. 41 annathvort séo þeir] þeir sieu annad hvórt L679. 42 halda] halldi L679. 43 Helgi] +landvarnar madr L679. 43 Landvarnarmaþr] ÷ L679 43 Hálfdánar Kóngs] ÷ L679, Olaf Kongs L2404, hans L1572. 44 mælir] + sá L679, L2404. 44 sá] ÷ L679, L2404. 45 Halfdáni] + kongi L679, kongi L2404. 46 er] + þvj L679. 46 heimuglegt] ÷ L2404. 47 Ráþaneyti] ráþgjafi L2404. 47 Hálfdánar Kóngs] kongs Hálfdanar L679. 47 Kóngr] ÷ L679. 47–48 at leita upp þann mann sem feldi Helga] ÷ L2404. 48 heitir] heitid L679, L2404. 48 honom hinom] ÷ L2404. 48 gjǫfom] launum L679, L2404, L1572. 49 um þat] ÷ L679. 49 hann upp] ÷ L679.

muni niþor q*v*omin*n*, o*c* man h*ann* ver*þa* þ*ess* skjótt vís, þ*ví* a*t* h*ann* er bæþi slægr o*c* vitr. Þat b*ar* t*il* opt á þ*ei*m tíma s*em* a*t* Hróm*undr* lá í græþslo hjá Haddýsi, a*t* Hagall f*or* t*il* veiþa o*c* fiski abla; h*ann* gé*ck* á Jsin*n* á Væn*ir* ept*ir* v*an*a, o*c* abla*þ*i jafn*an* v*el*. Eitt qvöld q*v*om h*ann* heim, o*c* dró ept*ir* sér sva st*o*ra Fliþro, a*t* h*ann* gat e*ck*i b*o*rit; k*er*líng fagn*ar* h*onom* blíþl*e*ga o*c* qveþr h*ann* færa sér t*il* mat*ar*. Hagall m*æl*ir þ*at* víst v*er*a, a*t* nú meina e*c* a*t* e*c* færi þér hlut*ar*bót, o*c* þarf e*ck*i a*t* tvíla a*t* þ*at* er sú st*æ*rsta sképna, s*em* e*c* hefi no*ck*orn tíma áþr feng*it* or vatni a*t* draga. Þat er hv*or*ttveggja s*egir* h*on*, a*t* fleyri ero nú a*t* eyþa, e*n* v*an*i er t*il*, enda kémr nú í g*ar*þ m*ei*ri veiþi e*n* áþr, o*c* skal e*c* f*ar*a a*t* kokka; t*óc* þá Hag*all* sax sitt o*c* sundraþi m*eþ* þ*ví* fliþruna, e*n* s*em* han*n* risti h*an*a á qviþin*n*, v*ar*þ f*yrir* h*onom* sv*er*þ*it* í mag*an*um, þ*at* s*em* Hróm*undr* mist hafþi; þá hló Haddýs o*c* m*æl*ir a*t* þ*ví* má gagn v*er*þa s*em* á l*an*d kémr, o*c* greip sv*er*þ*it* o*c* b*ar* þ*at* t*il* Hróm*undar* o*c* m*æl*ir kén*nir* þú no*ck*ot eþr ei? Já s*egir* Hróm*undr*, e*c* kén*n*i v*el*, o*c* ætla*þ*i e*c* þ*at* e*ck*i a*t* e*c* m*un*di kén*n*a héþ*an* í frá. Nú er s*em* q*v*om*it* er s*egir* k*er*líng, o*c* t*ac* v*it* eign þin*n*i. Hróm*undr* brosti o*c* kysti á hjalt*it*; þá t*óc* h*ann* v*it* sv*er*þino o*c* m*æl*ir njóti Hag*all* || betst h*an*da sin*n*a, e*n* þér man þa*ck*a v*er*þugast v*er*a, veit e*c* nú a*t* e*c* er í góþra m*ann*a hús*om*, n*ær* s*em* e*c* gét ásan*n*ast lát*it*, feldo þau sva tal*it*, a*t* k*er*líng lét upp a*t* sjóþa. 125v

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50 q*v*omin*n*] + vera L679. 50 o*c*] ÷ L1572. 50 skjótt] fliótt L1572. 50 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 51 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 52 veiþa] veidi L679. 53 á] ÷ L1572. 53 Væn*ir*] + oc for at veiþa L2404. 53 v*an*a] + sijnum L679. 54 sva] ÷ L2404. 54 a*t* h*ann* gat] og gat hann L679. 55 m*æl*ir] qvad L2404, L1572. 56 þ*at*] + ætla eg L679. 56 a*t* nú] oc L1572. 56 meina e*c* a*t*] ÷ L2404. 56 e*c* færi] færi ek L2404. 56–57 þarf e*ck*i a*t* tvíla a*t*] ÷ L2404, L1572. 57 þ*at* er sú st*æ*rsta sképna, s*em* e*c* hefi] hef ek alldrei stęrri scepno L2404. 57 no*ck*orn tíma áþr] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 57–58 feng*it* or vatni a*t* draga] or Vatni dreigit L2404, L1572. 58 er] + og L679. 58 s*egir* h*on*] ÷ L679. 58 fleyri ero nú] þad eru fleiri til L679. 58 a*t* eyþa] veidi menn L1572. 59 t*il*] segir hun L679. 59 g*ar*þ] + minn L679. 59 e*c*] nu L679, L1572. 60 kokka] matreida L1572. 60 m*eþ* þ*ví*] ÷ L679. 61 h*an*a] ÷ L679. 61 sv*er*þ*it*] sverþ L2404. 62 mist hafþi] hafdi mist L679. 63 þ*at*] ÷ L679, L2404. 64 no*ck*ot] þetta L679. 64 e*c* kén*n*i v*el*] ÷ L679. 65 þ*at* e*ck*i] ÷ L679. 65 a*t* e*c*] ÷ L679, at L2404. 65 m*un*di] + eij L679. 66 k*er*líng] hun L679. 66 o*c*] ÷ L679. 67 þá t*óc* h*ann* v*it* sv*er*þino] ÷ L679, þá hann tók vit sverþino L2404, tók vid sverdinu L1572. 67 njóti] man L2404. 67 Hag*all* || betst] best Hagall L2404. 68–69 veit e*c* nú a*t* e*c* er í góþra m*ann*a hús*om*, n*ær* s*em* e*c* gét ásan*n*ast lát*it*] ÷ L2404.

XVI kap*ituli*

Noc*k*ro ept*ir* þetta, þeg*ar* Hróm*undr* t*óc* a*t* ver*þ*a gróinn sára sin*n*a, skéþi þ*at*: ker*l*íng t*óc* t*il* a*t* fá sva stóra geispa, a*t* hún q*v*om v*ar*la fram*m* orþi f*yrir* þ*ei*m; hún m*ælir* einhvǫrstaþ*ar* er e*c* nú á orþi, o*c* man þ*at* san*n*ast v*er*a, a*t* slíkt megi henda sic; man nú Hálfdán K*óngr* v*er*a á tali v*it* Blind vin sin*n* ept*ir* venjo. Nú ver*þ*r frá þ*ví* a*t* s*egja* a*t* þetta sama qvǫld q*v*om Bl*indr* á tal v*it* Hálfd*án* K*óng* o*c* m*ælir* frétt*ir* h*afa* fræþt m*ic* u*m* þ*at*, hv*aþ* heit*it* hafi sá m*aþr*, er vo Helga Frækna. K*óngr* m*ælir* hv*aþ* h*eitir* h*ann*? Bl*indr* s*egir* Hróm*undr* h*eitir* h*ann*, ættaþr or Noregi. Veitsto hv*ar* h*ann* er nú? s*egir* K*óngr* Han*n* er e*n* á lífi, s*egir* Bl*indr* hjá Hag*ali* k*ar*li, hér á skógn*om*. Þá skalto finn*a* h*ann*, o*c* láta h*ann* ei und*an* sleppa, s*egir* K*óngr* oc manto m*enn* t*il* kalla, a*t* leita h*ans* á m*or*gun. Sva skal g*jǫ*rt ver*þ*a s*egir* Bl*indr* e*n* u*m* m*or*gunin*n* ept*ir* v*ar* Bl*indr* snem*m*a á fót*om*, o*c* heimt*ar* xxx m*anna* t*il* sín, o*c* heldr t*il* skógar; þ*ei*r q*v*oma þeg*ar* fyrst byrti. Bl*indr* s*egir* vilja r*an*sókn uppi h*afa*, o*c* leita ept*ir* þ*ei*m s*em* Helga veg*it* hafi, því Hálfd*án* K*óngr* vilji sva v*er*a láta. Hag*all* s*egir* heimil skulo hús mín hv*or*j*om* m*ann*i, e*n* þó er skyldast, a*t* e*c* þ*ei*m betst leyfi, s*em* frá Hálfd*áni* K*óngi* q*v*oma, o*c* ec*k*i vil e*c* vin*n*a þ*at* f*yrir* eins m*an*s vinátto, a*t* missa vinátto y*ck*ar K*óng*s, o*c* skal yþr t*il* reiþo ljós o*c* hv*aþ* an*nat*, er v*it* þurf*it*. Bl*indr* m*ælir* ver*þ*i eins raun á reyndin*n*i, s*em* þú lætr
126r á ‖ heyrast, þá er betr tal*at* e*n* ec*k*i. Hag*all* biþr þá a*t* qveikja ljós, o*c* lýsa í h*or*n hús*om*, s*em* dagr byrti ec*k*i. Haddýs leypr t*il* óns a*t* tendra ljós, v*ar* þ*ar* Hróm*undr* f*yrir*, hún b*at* h*ann* f*ara* niþr und*ir* soþkétilin*n*, þ*at* g*jǫ*rþi Hróm*undr* e*n* hún hvolfdi katlin*om* yf*ir* h*ann* o*c* risti noc*k*or f*or*n v*er*s á kélilbotnin*n*, gé*ck* síþ*an* t*il* gést*an*a me*þ* góþ*an* qven*n*skǫ*r*úngsskap, oc bauþ þ*ei*m leit fram*m*i a*t* hafa; leitoþo

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1 þeg*ar*] þá L679. 2 þ*at*] + ad L679, L2404, L1572. 2 sva] ÷ L2404, L1572. 2 stóra] ÷ L1572. 2–3 v*ar*la fram*m*] framm valla einú L679. 3 nú] þar L679. 3 orþi] + sem eg er eij á bordi L679. 4 man nú] nú man L2404. 4 K*óngr*] ÷ L679. 5 á tali] ad tala L679. 6 þetta sama qvǫld] ÷ L679. 6 q*v*om Bl*indr*] Blindr kom L679. 6 á tal] ad mali L679. 7 er] sem L679. 7 Helga] + in L2404. 9 e*n*] nú L679. 12 a*t* leita h*ans* á m*or*gun] snema á morgun ad þú skallt finna hann L679. 12 ver*þ*a] vera L679. 14 t*il* sín] med ser L1572. 15 vilja] ÷ L679. 15 þ*ei*m] + manni L1572. 15 hafi] hafdi L679. 16 skulo] ÷ L679. 17 mín] sijn L679. 17 skyldast] skyldt L2404. 17 þ*ei*m] ÷ L679. 17 s*em*] er L679. 20 s*em*] og L679, L1572. 21 a*t*] ÷ L679. 22 lýsa] leita L1572. 23 h*ann*] Hromund L679, L2404, L1572. 24 Hróm*undr*] hann L679. 24 katlin*om*] + ofann L679. 25 risti] ristir L679. 25 v*er*s] vess L679, L2404, L1572.

þá m*enn* K*óng*s hv*ar* s*em* vildo o*c* fundo e*ck*i Hróm*und* o*c* e*ck*i heldr fundo þ*ei*r kélilin*n*[36] f*yrir* sér; t*óc* þá Bl*indr* a*t* ver̃a brúna þúngr o*c* áhyggjufullr, snýr h*ann* þá í burto, o*c* er h*ann* v*ar* q*vo*min*n* áleiþis, mælir h*ann* t*il* m*ann*a sin*n*a: vissole*g*a er Hróm*undr* hér á laun; o*c* skul*om* v*it* aptr heim snúa o*c* leita betr, g*jǫ́*ra þ*ei*r sva a*t* þ*ei*r snúa aptr. Þá s*egir* k*er*líng v*it* Hróm*und* nú skalto f*ar*a í fǫ̊t Eldabusko min*nar*, o*c* skalto hræra graut t*il* matg*jǫ́*rþ*ar*, fékk hún h*onom* þá Mistiltein f*yrir* graut*ar* þv*ǫ́*ro, o*c* m*ælir* me*þ* þv*ǫ́*run*n*i má v*er*jast ef á liggr. Litlo síþ*ar* q*vo*mo m*enn* K*óng*s, o*c* sǫ́gþust vilja betr leita, e*n* fyrr. Hag*all* s*egir* þ*ei*m heimila r*an*sǫ́kun, leita þ*ei*r nú lengi, o*c* fin*n*a e*ck*i Hróm*und* a*t* heldr; sáo þ*ei*r nú Eldabuskuna, a*t* hún dró til Möndulin*n*, o*c* leit óhýrt t*il* K*óng*s m*ann*a, snúa þ*ei*r en*n* á burt me*þ* stór*om* óþo*ck*a, o*c* er þ*ei*r v*or*o á miþja leiþ q*vo*mn*ir*, t*ec*or Bl*indr* t*il* orþa o*c* s*egir* m*ic*il skǫ́m*m* hend*ir* o*ss*, a*t* v*it* gétum e*ck*i fund*it* Hróm*und* e*n* h*ann* er þó hjá k*er*língo Hagals, o*c* er hún h*it* meirsta galdra seiþi, o*c* skul*om* v*it* e*n* þá t*il* hætta, o*c* leita í þriþja sin*n*; snúa þ*ei*r þá aptr, o*c* er þ*ei*r v*or*o skam*m*t á leiþ aptr q*vo*mn*ir*, t*óc* Had-dýs t*il* orþa, o*c* m*ælir* t*il* Hróm*undar* e*ck*i tjá*ir* a*t* tvíla, e*n* þá q*vo*ma þ*ei*r Bl*indr* o*c* m*enn* h*an*s, o*c* f*ar* þú nú a*t* reka sam*an* kindr o*ck*ar, o*c* brúka vosbúþ*ar* kubl á þér, o*c* fjárpípo v*it* munn ‖ þér, o*c* sýng í 126v hen*n*i, e*n* e*c* man g*an*ga t*il* mjalta. Þetta g*jǫ́*rir Hróm*undr* h*ann* ge*n*gr t*il* smala m*enn*sko, o*c* t*ec*or lúþr meþ sér, o*c* blæs nú sam*an* hj*or*þina s*em* Hag*all* átti; o*c* s*em* h*ann* er q*vo*min*n* á miþja leiþ, q*vo*ma þ*ei*r K*óng*s m*enn* o*c* qveþja h*ann*, e*n* h*ann* t*ec*or seint orþ*om* þ*ei*rra; þ*ei*r

27 m*enn* K*óng*s] Kongs menn L679, L1572. 27 s*em*] þeir L679. 27–28 heldr fundo þ*ei*r] ÷ L679. 28 kélilin*n*] kietilinn L679, L2404, L1572. 28 f*yrir* sér] ÷ L679. 29 v*ar*] er L679, ÷ L1572. 29 q*vo*min*n* áleiþis] a leidis kominn L679, kom á leidis L1572. 31 v*it*] ver L1572. 31 heim] ÷ L679. 31 g*jǫ́*ra þ*ei*r] þeir gjóra L679. 31–32 a*t* þ*ei*r snúa aptr] ÷ L679. 33 matg*jǫ́*rþ*ar*] matar L1572. 37 e*ck*i] + helldr L679. 37 a*t* heldr] ÷ L679. 38 óhýrt] hijrlega L679. 38 K*óng*s m*ann*a] þeira L679. 38 en*n*] nu L679. 39 stór*om*] storann L679, L1572, miklom L2404. 39 miþja] ÷ L679. 40 o*c* s*egir*] ÷ L2404. 40 v*it*] vér L1572. 40 gétum e*ck*i fund*it*] finnum ei L1572. 42 v*it*] vér L1572. 42 o*c* leita] ÷ L679. 43 þ*ei*r] ÷ L2404, L1572. 43 o*c* er þ*ei*r v*or*o skam*m*t á leiþ aptr q*vo*mn*ir*] þá L679. 44 e*ck*i tjá*ir* a*t* tvíla] ÷ L1572. 44 e*n* þá] ad L679. 45 þ*ei*r] ÷ L679. 45 m*enn* h*an*s] hans menn L679. 46 á þér] ÷ L679. 47 h*ann*] og L679. 48 nú] ÷ L679, L1572. 48 hj*or*þina] fienu L679, hjordinni L2404, L1572. 49 þ*ei*r] þa L2404. 50 t*ec*or] + þvj L679. 50 orþ*om* þ*ei*rra] ÷ L679.

36. Note that a better reading is in L679, L2404, and L1572 than in B11109.

sp*yrja* ept*ir* Hróm*undi* h*ann* qveþst þenkja, a*t* h*ann* mani þ*ar* ver*it* h*afa* no*ck*orn tíma, e*n* nú er h*ann* víst á burt, s*egir* h*ann*, o*c* man heim q*v*omin*n*; g*an*ga þ*ei*r nú t*il* bæ*ar*ins, e*n* k*er*líng t*il* mjalta. Hún m*ælir* t*il* Smala man*n*s, m*eþ* há*om* hljóþ*om*: hvaþa fj*and*a*n*s ver*k*un er þetta, s*em* þú gj*ǫ*rir, þin*n* ólu*ck*o þ*orp*a*ri*, a*t* þú brúk*ar* þ*ann* b*an*n*a*þ*ann* ósiþ, a*t* styggja sképnr, o*c* venja t*il* óspekt*ar*, o*c* ef þú leggor ei þetta af, þá skalto fá a*t* kén*n*a á h*or*þo. Smalinn þagþi o*c* sv*ar*aþi engo. Nú leita þ*ei*r Bl*indr* o*c* h*an*s fǫronaut*ar*, ut*an* bæ*ar* o*c* in*n*an*n*, o*c* fin*n*a nú e*ck*i þ*at* villdo, e*n* s*em* áþr, sneipast þ*ei*r o*c* snúa áleiþis heim aptr; o*c* s*em* þ*ei*r e*ro* í þ*at* pláts q*v*omn*ir*, s*em* þ*ei*r v*oro* v*an*ir aptr a*t* hv*er*fa, s*egir* Bl*indr* Nú v*eit* e*c* hv*aþ* ver*it* hefr, a*t* Hróm*undr* hefr sá m*aþr* ver*it*, s*em* stóþ m*eþ* lúþurin*n*, o*c* skul*om* nú leita h*an*s m*eþ* ǫll*om* ákafa. Snúa þ*ei*r e*n* aptr t*il* bæ*ar* Hagals. Þá m*ælir* Hag*all* v*it* kono sína: m*ic*it h*ar*þna nú skór a*t* fót*om* mér, at þetta g*en*gr sva lengi, a*t* þ*ei*r Bl*indr* o*c* h*an*s félag*ar*, gj*ǫ*ra oss slík*ar* óspekt*ir* f*yrir* litl*ar* sak*ir*, o*c* nú vil e*c* sjálfr g*an*ga á veg á móti þ*ei*m, e*n* þú mant sjá t*il* a*t* v*el* t*il* te*c*ist; g*en*gr nú Hag*all* á móti þ*ei*m a*t* g*ar*þi út, e*n* er þ*ei*r sáu h*an*n v*ar*þ h*ann* und*arl*egr í aug*om* þ*ei*rra, sýndist þ*ei*m þá, at Flugdre*c*i sækja a*t* þ*ei*m, t*ó*c*o* þ*ei*r þá a*t* leita aptr t*il* b*ak*a, o*c* snúa heim leiþis,
127r e*n* Draconin*n* sókti eptir ‖ þ*ei*m af meirsta kappi, sýndist þ*ei*m h*ann* blása eldi o*c* eytri, villdo þá sum*ir* bíþa h*an*s, e*n* sum*ir* for*þa* sér, v*ar*þ þ*at* þá fleyrst*om* f*yrir* a*t* leita sér und*an* fær*s*lo, v*ar*aþi þ*ess*i adsókn fram*m* a*t* qvǫldi, q*v*omost þ*ei*r sva u*m* síþ*ir* heim til Hálfd*áns* K*óng*s o*c* sǫgþo sin*n* hrakníng o*c* eyrindis leysi, a*t* Hróm*undr* hefþi e*ck*i

51 sp*yrja*] + hann L679. 51 h*ann* qveþst þenkja] enn hann þeinkir L679. 51–52 a*t* h*ann* mani þ*ar* ver*it* h*afa*] hann hafi verid þar L679. 52 e*n*] og L679. 52 er] muni L679. 52 víst] ÷ L679. 52 á burt] i burt L679. 54 t*il* Smala man*n*s, m*eþ* há*om* hljóþ*om*] med háum hljödum til smala mannsins L679. 56 óspekt*ar*] öspekta L679. 56 ei þetta] þetta ecki L1572. 57 þá] ÷ L679, L1572. 57 h*or*þo] + enn L679. 57 Smalinn] smala madr L679, L1572. 58 ut*an* bæ*ar* o*c* in*n*an*n*] uti oc inni L1572. 58 nú] ÷ L679, L1572. 59 e*n* s*em* áþr] ÷ L679. 59 sneipast þ*ei*r o*c* snúa áleiþis heim aptr] ÷ L2404. 60 er*o*] voru L679. 60 í þ*at* pláts] þangat L2404. 60 hv*er*fa] snua L679. 62 s*em*] er L679. 62 nú] vid L679. 63 e*n*] nú L679. 65 félag*ar*] menn L679. 65 oss] mier L679. 66 sjálfr g*an*ga] ganga sjálfr L679, L2404. 66 sjá t*il*] vel sjá um L679. 66–67 t*il* te*c*ist] takist til L679, takist L1572. 67 á móti] móti L1572. 68 þá, at] ÷ L679, þá L1572. 69 sækja] sækti L2404. 69 aptr] ÷ L679. 70 Draconin*n*] drekinn L1572. 72 þá] ÷ L1572. 72 a*t*] + forda sier og L679. 72 sér] ÷ L1572. 73 sva] þá L679. 74 sin*n*] honum L1572.

fundin*n* orþ*it*, þókti nú K*óng*i þessi f*er*þ ílla t*ilte*cist h*afa*, o*c* hin hæþil*e*gasta, leiþ sva á Veturin*n* a*t* lít*it* b*ar* t*il* tíþinda

XVII kap*ítuli*

Um v*o*rit, stutto f*yrir* sum*ar*, q*v*om Bl*indr* a*t* máli v*it* Hálfdán K*óng* o*c* s*egir* h*onom* a*t* s*ic* hafi m*ar*ga drauma dreymt und*ar*l*e*ga á þ*essom* vetri, o*c* villdi e*c*, s*egir* h*ann* a*t* þér, Herra!, vildot ráþa þá t*il* gagns o*c* gam*an*s. K*óngr* s*egir* vilja heyra. Bl*indr* s*egir* þ*at* dreymdi m*ic* fyrst, a*t* mér þókti q*v*oma ein*n* st*or* o*c* hræþilegr hýþbj*ǫ*rn, h*ann* óþ a*t* yþr o*c* beit yþr mikla und á brjóst*it*. K*óngr* s*egir* híng*at* kémr an*nat*hv*or*t K*óng*r eþr an*nar* kappi, s*em* vekr hér styrj*ǫ*lþ v*it* m*ic*, e*n* þ*ar* á ept*ir* sættist h*ann* o*c* e*c*. Bl*indr* m*ælir* an*nann* draum dreymdi m*ic*, s*egir* Bl*indr* a*t* ec þóktist q*v*oma í eitt st*or*t o*c* vænt hús, þ*ar* sáto m*ar*g*ir* Fálkar á st*ǫ*ll*om*, v*or*o þ*ei*r all*ir* m*eþ* f*ǫ*gr*om* fj*ǫ*þr*om*, e*n* sá fálkin*n* s*em* þér attot, h*ann* v*ar* fjaþralaus, o*c* allr rifin*n* af h*onom* hamrin*n*. K*óng*r m*ælir* þ*at* v*er*þr mi*c*ill st*or*mvindr, s*em* hrist*ir* o*c* skékur þ*at* h*ann* á blæs, v*er*þ e*c* þá staþdr n*æ*rri eldi o*c* fjúka þá gneist*arnir* á m*ic*. Þriþji draumorin*n* v*ar* þ*at*, s*egir* Bl*indr* a*t* e*c* þóktist sjá m*ar*gt Svín ren*n*a hér a*t* sun*nan*, þau rótoþo upp allri j*ǫ*rþunn*i* um l*andit*. K*óng*r m*ælir* þ*at* v*er*þr fyr*ir* ‖ sjáf*ar* ókyrrleika o*c* sólskyni, ásamt 127v f*yrir* v*ar*ma o*c* vorgróþa. Þat er min*n* sá fjórþi draumr, s*egir* Bl*indr* a*t* e*c* sá l*angan* j*ar*þ*ar*orm skríþa hér a*t* aust*an* o*c* in*n* í hǫllina, sá beit yþr Herra bæþi djúpa o*c* breiþa und á brjóst*it*. Þat er, s*egir* K*óngr* f*yrir* einhv*orj*om stór*om* hǫfþíngja s*em* á min*n* fund sæk*ir*, h*ann* man vilja skoþa ǫll vopn v*or*, af hv*orr*i h*an*s forvitni a*t* e*c* man reiþast. Þ*at*

75 orþ*it*] ordinn L679, verid L1572. 75 nú] ÷ L1572. 75 ílla] + oc hæþilega L2404. 75–76 o*c* hin hæþil*e*gasta] ÷ L2404. 76 á] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 76 lít*it*] ecki L679. 1 stutto f*yrir* sum*ar*] ÷ L679. 1 Hálfdán] ÷ L1572. 1 K*óng*] ÷ L2404. 2 h*onom* a*t*] ÷ L679. 2 m*ar*ga drauma] ÷ L2404. 3 villdi] vil L679. 3 s*egir* h*ann* a*t* þér, Herra!] herra ad þier L679, herra segir hann, at þér L2404. 3 vildot ráþa] rádid L679. 4 vilja heyra] heira vilja L679. 6 á] i L2404. 6 híng*at*] hier L679. 7 an*nar*] ÷ L2404. 7 s*em* vekr hér] og vilt hefja L679. 7 e*n* þ*ar* á] og þar L679. 8–9 s*egir* Bl*indr*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 10 fǫgr*om*] fóstum L679. 11 h*ann*] ÷ L679, L1572. 11 fjaþralaus, o*c*] ÷ L679. 11 rifin*n*] + og L679. 12 m*ælir*] segir L679. 12 skékur] + allt L2404. 13 fjúka] hagli L679. 13 þá] ÷ L1572. 13 gneist*arnir*] gneistrast L679. 13 á] um L679. 14 draumorin*n*] draumr minn L2404. 15 j*ǫ*rþun*ni*] jörþu L2404. 15 um l*andit*] ÷ L2404. 17 min*n*] ÷ L679. 17 draumr] +minn L679. 18 hér] ÷ L2404. 19 Herra] ÷ L679. 19 djúpa o*c* breiþa] breida og djupa L679. 19 Þat er, s*egir* K*óngr*] Kongr segir þad er L679. 20 á min*n* fund sæk*ir*] sækir á minn fund L679. 21 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404.

b*ar* e*n* t*il* s*egir* Bl*indr* a*t* m*ic* dreymdi a*t* hǫ́ggormr ein*n* v*ar* sva st*or*, a*t* h*ann* náþi hér yf*ir* u*m* þvert l*andit*. K*óng*r m*ælir* þ*at* ver*þ*r eitt mj*ǫc* príþil*e*gt o*c* blóml*e*gt dr*e*ca skip, s*em* híng*at* sigl*ir* an*nar*staþ*ar* a*t*. Sá er hin*n* sjötti draumr min*n*, s*egir* Bl*indr* a*t* e*c* sá kolsv*ǫ́*rt ˋský´ q*v*oma or n*or*þri, þau hǫ́fþo klær o*c* bjúga vængi, þau flugo burto m*eþ* þ*ic*, oc e*c* vissi e*ck*i hvaþ af yþr v*ar*þ, o*c* þ*ar* ept*ir* sá e*c* yþ*ar* betsta dr*e*caskip, m*ar*a í miþjo kafi í brimi o*c* sjóar*æ*þi g*an*gi, e*n* allr herin*n* yþ*ar* stóþ hǫ́fotlaus niþr í eino vatni, síþ*an* þóttist e*c* staþdr nær*r*i bæ Hagals, kom þ*ar* út hǫ́ggormr, h*ann* v*ar* íllúþl*e*gr, h*ann* beit m*enn* t*il* b*an*a, síþ*an* át h*ann* alla s*em* h*ann* beit, síþ*ar*st át h*ann* yþr o*c* m*ic*. K*óng*r m*ælir* þ*at* er þ*at*, s*em* e*c* lengi hefi ætla*t* a*t* láta vin*n*a, a*t* drepa hýþbj*ǫ́*rn þan*n*, s*em* hj*or*þ*om* m*ann*a hefr opt mein g*jǫ́*rt, o*c* er skam*m*t frá koti Hag*als*. En*n* dreymdi m*ic*, s*egir* Bl*indr* a*t* úngr hǫ́ggormr v*ar* dregin*n* út or hǫ́llin*n*i, o*c* h*an*gdi sv*er*þ v*it* h*an*s síþo, s*em* Mistiltein*n* h*iet*. Þetta er allt drauma rugl, s*egir* K*óng*r, þ*ví* Mistiltein*n* liggr í botnin*om* á Væn*ir*, o*c* þarf þ*ic* e*ck*i þetta a*t* skélfa; eþa erto orþin*n* sú bleyþa, a*t* þú hyggr a*t* allt mani teikna b*ar*daga
128r o*c* blóþs úthellíngllar Bl*indr* m*ælir* fleyri drauma hefr m*ic* e*n* dreymt, mætti ec segja. K*óng*r m*ælir*, segja skalto, e*n* e*c* man ráþa þá e*c* vil; Þat dreymdi m*ic* s*egir* Bl*indr* mér þókti a*t* sleginn v*er*a hríngr af rauda gulli betsta u*m* hálsin*n* á yþr, þ*ar* ept*ir* vissi e*c*, á þér riþot hesti, s*em* þér gátot e*ck*i nú*it* f*yrir* leti, o*c* af þ*ví* urþot þér sva móþ*ir* o*c* þreytt*ir*, sva m*ic* furþ*at*i, o*c* man v*er*þa þúngt a*t* ráþa þ*ess*a drauma;

22 b*ar* e*n* t*il*] dreimdi mig enn L679. 22 a*t* m*ic* dreymdi a*t*] ÷ L679. 22 hǫ́g-gormr ein*n*] Eirn hóggorm L679. 22 v*ar* sva st*or*] svo storann L679. 23 hér] ÷ L679. 23 u*m* þvert] allt L679. 24 mj*ǫc* príþil*e*gt] ÷ L2404. 24 o*c*] ÷ L679, L2404. 24 blóml*e*gt] ÷ L679. 26 or] af L679. 26 bjúga vængi] vængi bjúga L679. 26 burto] búrt L679. 27 þ*ic*] jdr L679. 27 o*c*] so L679, L2404, L1572. 27 vissi] sá L679. 28 dr*e*caskip] skip L679. 28 miþjo] ÷ L679. 28 brimi] ÷ L679, L1572. 28 o*c*] ÷ L679. 28 sjóar*æ*þi g*an*gi] sióargangi L2404. 29 herin*n* yþ*ar*] ydar her L679, her yþar L2404. 29 eino vatni] vatni eino L2404. 30 kom þ*ar*] þar kom L679. 30 h*ann* v*ar*] ÷ L1572. 31 m*enn*] mic L2404. 31 b*an*a] + og L679, L1572. 31 síþ*an*] ÷ L1572. 31 h*ann*] + þá L679, ÷ L1572. 31 s*em*] er L1572. 31 beit] + og L679, L2404. 32 m*ælir*] segir L679, L1572. 32 þ*at*] ÷ L679. 32 lengi hefi] hefi leingi L679, L2404, L1572. 33 a*t*] og L679. 33 opt] ádr L679. 34 s*egir* Bl*indr*] ÷ L679. 37 í] á L679. 38 hyggr] hugsar L679. 40 ec] + þá L679. 40 þá] sem L1572. 41 mér þókti a*t*] ad mier þotti L679, L1572, at mier þotti at L2404. 41 v*er*a] ÷ L679. 42 betsta] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 42 á yþr] þier L679. 42 á] ad L679, L2404, L1572. 43 hesti] + svo lótum L679. 43 nú*it*] + áframm L679. 43–44 sva móþ*ir* o*c* þreytt*ir*] þreittir og modir L679, módr og þreittr L1572. 44 sva] at L2404, L1572. 44 þúngt] langt L679. 44 þ*ess*a drauma] þá alla L679.

bar þá Blindr framm fleyri drauma, þó at hér séo ecki ritaþir, oc réþi Hálfdán Kóngr þá alla eptir sinni vild, en ecki eptir því sem merkto, sva sem síþar gaf raun vitni. Þá segir Kóngr hvaþ hyggr þú at þessi hinn síþarsti draumr hafi at þýþa? Blindr segir gamall oc latr hestr merkir gálga, en hríngr af betsta gulli á hálsi borinn, svívyrþíngar snorobond, oc manom vit báþir skammа stund lifa. Kóngr mælir sva rætist draumr sem hann er ráþinn til, oc man sva verþa at íll samvitska á sér jafnan Bǫþul, skildo þeir sva talit, at sitt þókti hvorjum þeirra.

XVIII kapítuli

Nú er at segja frá Hrómundi at hann hressist hjá Hagal[37] karli í koti hans, þar til at hann er gróinn sára sinna, fýsir hann þá at vitja fǫþurs síns; oc sem hann sjer Hrómund qvoma, fagnar Greipr honom af meirsta blíþskap, oc spyr tíþinda. Hrómundr segir slík sem til fallit hǫfþo, at synir hans væro fallnir. Greipr segir at nú mano framm-komnir draumar sínir hinir forno í nockrom lutom. Hrómundr dvelr þá meþ fǫþr sínom, þat eptir var vetrarins; en um vorit lætr Olafr Kóngr herǫr uppskéra, oc blása til bardaga, oc segist vilja aptr til Svíþjóþar at vinna Hálfdán Kóng þetta þókti fleyrstom undarlegt, því at || þeir Olafr Kóngr oc Hálfdán sættost sín á millom, eptir 128v
dauþa Helga oc þeirra bræþra, Vola oc Bílds, en af þeim Greips sonom kunno fáir at segja; en ei at síþr drifo þá margir menn til Olafs Kóngs

45 þá Blindr] Blindr þá L2404. 45 at] ÷ L679. 46 alla] ÷ L679. 46 sinni vild] villd sinni L679. 46 eptir því] því eptir L2404. 46 sem] + þeir L1572. 47 gaf raun] raun gaf L679. 47 segir] mælir L1572. 47 at] ÷ L679. 48 hinn síþarsti] ÷ L679. 49 betsta] rauþa L2404. 49 á hálsi] um háls L679. 49 borinn] + merkir L2404, L1572. 51 rætist] rætaz L2404. 51 draumr] draumar L2404. 51 hann er ráþinn] ráþnir ero L2404. 51 til] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 52 þeir] ÷ L679, L2404. 52 at sitt] oc L2404. 52 hvorjum þeirra] hvorjum L679, sitt hveriom L2404. 1 Nú er at segja frá Hrómundi] Um Romund er þat at segja L2404. 1–2 í koti hans] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 2 at] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 2 er] var L1572. 2 vitja] finna L679. 3 fǫþurs síns] fódur sinn L679, L1572. 3 Greipr] hann L679. 4 af meirsta blíþskap] blijdlega L679, vel L2404. 4 sem] er L1572. 5 hǫfþo] hafdi L679. 5 væro] ero L679. 5 mano] sieu L679, muni L2404, L1572. 5–6 framm komnir] framkoma L2404. 6 nockrom] sumum L679. 6 dvelr] dvaldi L1572. 7 vetrarins] veturs ins L679. 7 lætr] liet L679. 8 herǫr] herfór L679. 9 þetta þókti] þotti þetta L679, L2404. 10 at] ÷ L679. 10 Olafr Kóngr oc Hálfdán] ÷ L679, + kongr L1572. 10 millom] milli L679. 11 Helga oc þeirra bræþra] ÷ L679. 11 Vola oc Bílds] Bilds og Vola L679. 12 en] ÷ L2404. 12 þá] ÷ L679. 12 Olafs] ÷ L679.

37. Note the written-out form 'hjá Hagal' instead of *hjá Hagali* or *hjá Hagli*.

oc varþ hans tilbúníngr bæþi micill oc langr, for þetta allt meþ fáom fréttom oc afspurnom. Þat var eitt sinn, at Olafr Kóngr var at láta búa her sinn, at hann hefr uppræþo vit menn sína, oc spyr eptir hvort at þeir viti nockot til Hrómundar oc bræþra hans, síþan at hann hvarf í burt héþan, segir hann? Menn Kóngs qváþo lítit fyrir því, oc segja at hann sjest hafi hino megin Vænirs oc þeir bræþr hans, en ei visso menn, segja þeir, hvort heldr at hann fylgdi yþar mǫnnom, eþr þeim Svíom. Kóngr mælir sá þá enginn hvaþ þeir at hǫfþost. Þá svaraþi til maþr, oc sagþi þat hygg ec, segir hann, at Hrómundr mani lifa en nú, oc dvelja hjá Greipi en bræþr hans drap Helgi vit Vænirs vatn í vetr, oc er sú til géta, at Hrómundr mani hafa vegit Helga. Hvaþ man því valda, segir Kóngr at hann kémr ecki á fund vorn? Þat man því valda, segir þessi maþr, at hann vill ecki vitja yþar, at hann þurfti at forþa lífi síno seinast, þá hann flýþi héþan fyrir reiþi yþar, oc seinna man þat verþa, at hann híngat qvomi, fyrr en hann hefr hefnt síns vansa, sem hann þóktist fá hjá yþr, fyrir álygar Bílds oc Vola. Kóngr mælir Viljiþ þér láta Hrómund vera yþar herfylkínga yfirmann, eþr ei? ef þér þat viljiþ, þá skal eptir honom senda, oc sæmda boþ bjóþa. Menn qváþost ei vel vita, hvort hann villdi sættom taca, eþr ecki, því hann hefr þúnga lund oc þétta. Kóngr biþr þá menn fara, oc finna Hrómund oc bera honom orþ sín, at hann býþr honom allar þær sæmdir, er hann þykist veita mega. Nú qvoma menn á Bæ

13 hans] + lids L679. 13 bæþi] ÷ L679. 14 oc afspurnom] og afspúrdúm L679, ÷ L2404. 14 at] er L1572. 14 Olafr] ÷ L679. 14 láta] ÷ L679, L1572. 15 hefr uppræþo vit menn sína, oc] ÷ L1572. 15 at] ÷ L679, L1572. 16 at] ÷ L2404. 17 í] ÷ L679, á L1572. 17 segir hann] ÷ L679, L2404. 17 Menn Kóngs] þeir L679, menn L2404. 17 fyrir] frá L1572. 17 oc] at L1572. 18 at] ÷ L2404. 18 sjest hafi] hafi siest L679, séþ hafa L2404. 18 þeir] þá L2404. 18 en] ÷ L679. 19 menn, segja] ÷ L679. 19 heldr at hann fylgdi] þeir filgdu L679, hann filgdi L1572. 19–20 yþar mǫnnom, eþr þeim Svíom] ydr eda Svjum L679. 21 til maþr] madr til L679, L1572. 21 segir hann] ÷ L2404. 21 mani lifa] lifi L679. 22 dvelja] sie L679, vera L2404. 22 Helgi] + hinn frækni L679. 23 géta] gáta L2404, L1572. 23 mani hafa] hafi L679. 23 vegit] drepid L1572. 24 hann] Hromundr L679. 24 fund vorn] minn fund L679, vorn fund L2404. 25 þessi maþr] madrinn L679. 25–26 vill ecki vitja yþar, at hann] ÷ L679, L1572. 26 seinast] sijdast L679, L2404, L1572. 26 héþan] ÷ L679. 27 seinna] seint L679. 27 þat verþa, at hann híngat qvomi] hann hijngad koma L679. 29 Viljiþ] vilie L2404. 29 þér] þid L679. 29–30 herfylkínga yfirmann] oddvita L2404. 30 þá] ÷ L679, L1572. 30 skal] + eg L1572. 31 vel] ÷ L2404. 32 þá] ÷ L2404. 32 menn] + ad L679, + sina L2404. 33 býþr] bjódi L679. 34 er] sem L679. 34 þykist] frekast L679. 34 mega] meigi L679. 34 qvoma] komu L2404. 34 Bæ] fund L2404, L1572.

Hróm*undar* oc qveþja[38] h*ann* t*il* máls, e*n* h*ann* qveþst hafa ‖ an*nat* 129r
ráþstofn*at*, heldr e*n* a*t* láta fram*an*di m*enn* tefja s*ic* eyrinda sin*na*. Þeir
`s*egja*´ h*onom* orþ Ol*afs* K*óngs* oc sæmda boþ h*ans*. Hróm*undr* s*egist*
e*cki* h*afa* f*ar*it neina sæmd*ar* f*er*þ f*yrir* K*óng* híng*at* t*il*, oc sva mani e*n*
v*er*þa, þó h*ann* finn*i* h*ann*, hafi K*óngr* siþ*ar*st h*eitit* sér gálga n*ær* h*ann*
hafi sér blygþ á hendr b*or*it, oc sín leitaþi í h*er*b*er*gjom Svanh*vítar*
líka kunn*i* h*ans* ráþaneyti lengi a*t* duga, s*em* a*t* séo þ*ei*r Bíldr oc Vole.
Sendim*enn* qváþo þá dauþa báþa f*yrir* laungo. Hróm*undr* létst þ*at*
ei vita, oc b*at* þá b*er*a Ol*afi* K*óngi* orþ sín.

XIX kap*ítuli*

Sendim*enn* Ol*afs* K*óng*s ríþa nú sva bún*ir* heim aptr, oc s*egja* K*óngi*
orþ Hróm*undar* K*óngr* m*ælir* ílla f*or* þ*at*, a*t* Hróm*undr* f*er* e*cki* t*il*
f*er*þ*ar* m*eþ* o*ss*, þ*ví* a*t* óvíst v*er*þr, hv*ort* vér fá*om* Hálfd*án* K*óng* sigr*at*
m*eþ* v*ort* eindæmi. Sendim*enn* sǫgþost halda, a*t* Hrom*undr* m*un*di
hv*or*gi f*ar*it h*afa*, hv*or* boþ s*em* feng*it* hefþi. Ol*afr* K*óngr* lætr nú
m*enn* búast t*il* burtf*er*þ*ar* t*il* Svía r*ic*is, v*oro* þó m*enn* m*ic*it ófús*ir*, þ*ví*
þ*ei*r þeinkto, a*t* síþr m*un*di sigurin*n* fást e*n* áþr. Nú er a*t* s*egja* frá
Sv*anh*v*íti* a*t* hún g*jǫ*rir orþ Hróm*undi* oc biþr h*ann* q*v*oma á sin*n*
fund, oc tefja ei v*it* a*t* tím*om* skipti. Hróm*undi* brá v*it* h*it* sn*ar*asta,
oc t*óc* h*er*klæþi sín oc reiþskjóta, oc q*v*om á fund Svanh*vítar* Svanh*vít*

35 qveþja] kvóddú L679. 35–36 hafa ‖ an*nat* ráþstofn*at*] annad rád stofnad hafa L679. 36 heldr] ÷ L679, L2404. 36 a*t*] ÷ L679, L1572. 38 e*cki* h*afa* f*ar*it neina] enga L1572. 38 sæmd*ar* f*er*þ] sæmda fór L679, L2404, + hafa farid L1572. 38 f*yrir*] siþaz fyrir L2404. 38 híng*at* t*il*] ÷ L2404. 38 mani] man L2404, L1572. 39 þó] ÷ L2404. 39 h*ann*] eg L679, ÷ L2404. 39 finn*i* h*ann*] ÷ L2404. 39 K*óngr* siþ*ar*st] hann oc L2404. 39 n*ær*] þá L2404. 40 sín leitaþi] sín leitad L679, L1572, leytat sin L2404. 41 a*t*] ÷ L679. 41 þ*ei*r] + bræþr L2404. 43 þá] ÷ L2404. 43 Ol*afi*] ÷ L679. 1 bún*ir*] buit L2404. 2 f*er*] for L679. 3 f*er*þ*ar*] fundr L679. 3 m*eþ*] vid L679. 3 a*t*] ÷ L679. 3 v*er*þr] er þat L679. 3 vér] vid L679. 3 Hálfd*án* K*óng* sigr*at*] sigrad Halfdan Kong L679. 4 halda] + övijst L679. 4 a*t*] ÷ L2404. 5 f*ar*it] farad L679. 5 feng*it* hefþi] hefþi fengit L2404. 6 m*enn*] ÷ L679. 6 þó] ÷ L1572. 6 m*ic*it] ÷ L679, þess miok L2404, til þess miog L1572. 7 þ*ei*r þeinkto] þeim þokti örvænt L2404. 7 a*t* síþr m*un*di] ÷ L2404. 7 sigurin*n* fást] fást sigr L679, um sigr L2404. 7 e*n* áþr] ÷ L2404. 9 o*c* tefja ei] sem bráþaz L2404. 9 v*it* a*t*] svo L679, ÷ L2404. 9 tím*om* skipti] ÷ L2404. 9 h*it* sn*ar*asta] skjótt L679. 10 h*er*klæþi sín o*c* reiþskjóta] reidskiota sinn og herklædi L679. 10 Svanh*vít*] hún L679, L2404.

38. An uncertain reading in L2404 due to the abbreviation ‘qv’.

fagnaþi Hróm*undi* oc h*ann* hen*n*i, oc sp*yr* hvaþa eyrindi hún vilji, a*t* h*ann* útrétti. Hún m*ælir* nú vil e*c* a*t* þú b*orgir* mér húsaleigo, s*em* e*c* veitti þér hjá Hagali k*a*rli, a*t* þú f*a*rir nú t*il* Svíþjóþ*ar*, me*þ* br*óþr* mín*om* f*yrir* mín orþ, oc skul*om* v*it* nú bæþi g*an*ga á K*óng*s fund, oc vita hv*or*jo a*t* h*ann* vill góþo t*il* sv*a*ra. Gánga þau þá bæþi t*il* K*óng*s K*óngr* fagn*ar* þ*e*im v*el*, þó betst Hróm*undi* oc bauþ h*onom* t*il* sætis, e*n* Hróm*undr* qvaþst ei sæti þurfa f*yrir* lúa sak*ir*. K*óngr* m*ælir* þá manto vilja þyggja góþ*ar* sæmd*ir* oc dry*ck*jo v*or*a e*ck*i síþr
129v || e*n* aþr*ir*, þ*e*ir eþ o*ss* heimsækja. Hróm*undr* qveþst góþ*om* sæmd*om* aldrei neita, e*n* þó seigist h*ann* vilja vita eyrindi þ*e*irra m*anna* er h*ann* hafi t*il* sín sendt f*yrir* stutto. K*óngr* s*egir* þ*at* v*ar* þ*ar* undir fal*it*, a*t* þú villd*ir* f*a*ra me*þ* o*ss* t*il* Svía r*i*cis, oc h*er*ja á Hálfd*án* K*óng* Enga eþr litla sǫk á e*c* v*it* Hálfd*án* s*egir* Hróm*undr* oc st*æ*rri sǫk á e*c* v*it* yþr, f*yrir* last oc álýgi, s*em* þér haf*it* bæþi mér veitt oc a*t* hyllst, þyki mér nú oc betst, a*t* þér vyrþ*it* yþ*ar* trúnaþ*ar*m*enn* Bíld oc Vola fram*ar* e*n* m*i*c, þ*ví* a*t* þ*e*ir h*afa* t*il* þ*ess* un*nit* af yþr, þ*ar* eþ þ*e*ir hafa, hv*or* í sin*n* st*at*, fægt á yþr eyron. Þá t*óc* Svanh*vít* t*il* orþa, oc m*ælir* t*il* K*óngs* sva er þ*ví* hátta þ, s*egir* hún, a*t* þér eg*it* Hróm*undi* góþo a*t* launa, þ*ar* eþ h*ann* hefr feng*it* bæþi frænda skaþa, oc fjármisso, líka te*c*it litla vyrþíng af yþr f*yrir* st*ar*fa sin*n*, bæþi í haugi Þráins oc opt*ar*, oc er yþr nú betst a*t* bjóþa h*onom* sættir oc góþ boþ s*em* h*ann* má v*el* f*yrir* g*an*gast, e*n* e*ck*i nein svik eþor yf*ir* hylmíng. Sva skal g*jǫ*rt, s*egir* K*óngr* stóþ þá Ol*afr* K*óngr* or sæti síno oc t*óc* í hǫnd Hróm*undar* oc

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11 fagnaþi] fagnar L679. 11 Hróm*undi* oc h*ann* hen*n*i] hónum vel L679, honum med allri blíþu L2404, Hromundi L1572. 11 oc] Hrómundr L679, L2404, hann L1572. 11 hvaþa] at L2404, hvort L1572. 11–12 hún vilji, a*t* h*ann* útrétti] ÷ L2404. 12 nú vil e*c*] ek vil L2404. 12 húsaleigo] husaleiguna L679. 13 þér] + þá þú varst L679. 13 nú] ÷ L679. 14 nú] ÷ L679. 15 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 15 h*ann* vill góþo] godu hann vill L679, L1572. 15 bæþi] ÷ L679. 16 v*el*] + enn L679. 17 e*n*] ÷ L679. 17 sæti þurfa] sætis þúrfi L679. 17 f*yrir* lúa sak*ir*] ÷ L2404. 18 manto vilja] villtu L679. 18 sæmd*ir*] gjafir af oss L679. 19 aþr*ir*] ÷ L679. 19 eþ] sem L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 19–20 góþ*om* sæmd*om* aldrei] alldrei godum sæmdum L679. 20 h*ann*] + fijrst L679. 21 t*il* sín sendt] sendt til sijn L679. 21 f*yrir* stutto] ÷ L2404. 22–23 Enga eþr litla] litla eda eingva L679. 23 Hálfd*án*] hann L679. 24 álýgi] á mæli ligi L1572. 24 hyllst] helst L679, hillt L1572. 26 þ*ar* eþ] er L2404, þar L1572. 26–27 hv*or* í sin*n* st*at*] sva forkunnar vel L2404. 27 á yþr eyron] eýru yþar L2404. 27 oc m*ælir* t*il* K*óngs*] ÷ L2404. 28 þ*ví*] þier L679. 28 s*egir* hún] ÷ L2404. 28 góþo] gott L2404. 29 eþ] ÷ L679. 31 boþ] sæmdar bod L679. 31 má] meigi L679, L1572. 31–32 v*el* f*yrir* g*an*gast] gangast fijrer L679, fyrir gangast L1572. 32 e*n* e*ck*i nein svik eþor yf*ir* hylmíng] ÷ L1572. 33 þá Ol*afr* K*óngr*] hann þá L2404, L1572.

mælir vel má ec biþja þic Hrómundr at géfa mér upp reiþi þína, oc
35 mæla til vinátto vit mic, oc beiþst þess er þú villt af mér, oc skal ec
ævarandi níþings nafn bera, ef ec geng á heit mín, þau er ec veiti oc
lofi. Þá mælir Hrómundr meþ því at Svanhvít vill hér til leggja sín
góþ orþ, þá skulom vit vinátto meþ ockor binda, at því skilyrþi fast
játto, at ec til ekta fái systir yþar Svanhvít oc vil ec nú heyra hennar
40 jáyrþi, sva framt sem þér viljiþ veita. Svanhvít mælir þat þykist ec
vita, at bróþir minn mani þat hit sama vilja oc samþyckja í þesso efni,
sem ec sjálf tilmæli, sérdeilis þar eþ honom ríþllor sva micit á, at líf oc 130r
sæmd hans liggr vit, hins oc annars, at góþr kostr er fyrir hendi, oc
gyrnist ec ei fremr, en þennann, at Hrómundr sé meþ þesso sæmdr,
45 ásamt mörgo öþro góþo sem þar at lítr. Kóngr bat þá hyrþmenn
sína vera minnuga þeirrar sáttar gjörþar sín á milli oc Hrómundar
Fastnaþi þá Hrómundr Svanhvít þar öllom vit verandi, en sá skilmáli
fylgdi, at hann skal landvörn halda oc hafa, þeg⟨ar⟩ Olafr Kóngr vill oc
meþ þarf, en Hrómundr aptr þau ljeni, er vill oc tilkallar, þar í ricino.
50 Settost nú allir niþr, oc tóco at drecka gott minnis öl, en Brúþkaup
skal bíþa til þess at Kóngr oc Hrómundr heim aptr qvoma frá Svíom.

XX kapítuli

Strax um morguninn, þá dagr var, stóþ Hromundr fyrstr manna
upp, oc heimtaþi saman liþit, þat sem Olafi Kóngi tilheyrþi, oc bat

34 Hrómundr] ÷ L2404. 35 mér] + þiggja L679, + fá L1572. 36 þau er ec] ÷ L2404. 36 veiti] heiti L679, ÷ L2404. 36–37 oc lofi] og lofa L679, ÷ L2404. 37 vill hér til leggja] leggr til L679. 38 skilyrþi] skilorþi L2404. 38–39 fast játto] ÷ L2404. 39 til ekta fái] fái til egta L2404. 40 sem] ÷ L679, L2404. 40 mælir] segir L1572. 41 mani] mun L679, muni L2404, L1572. 41 þat hit sama vilja oc] þetta L679. 41 í þesso efni] ÷ L2404. 42 mæli] + i þesso efni L2404. 42 eþ] ÷ L679, L2404. 42 honom ríþllor sva micit á, at] ÷ L2404. 43 hins oc annars] oc L2404. 44 ei] + annann L679. 44 þennann, at] ÷ L679, L2404. 45 sem þar at lítr] ÷ L2404. 46 sína] + ad L1572. 46 þeirrar] þessarar L679, L2404, L1572. 46 sín á milli] ÷ L2404, milli sin L1572. 46 oc Hrómundar] ÷ L2404. 47 þar] at L679, ÷ L1572. 48 skal] skyldi L2404. 48 halda] ÷ L2404. 48 oc] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 48 hafa] ÷ L679, L1572. 48 þeg⟨ar⟩] þá L679. 48–49 vill oc meþ þarf] þarf med L679, meþ þarf L2404. 49 en Hrómundr aptr þau ljeni] ÷ L2404. 49 er] + hann L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 49 vill oc tilkallar] ÷ L2404. 49 þar] ÷ L679, L2404. 49 í ricino] ÷ L2404. 50 gott minnis öl] ÷ L2404. 51 til þess at] þar til L679, þar til þeir L2404. 51 heim aptr] ÷ L2404. 51 qvoma] kæmi aptr L2404. 1 þá] er L679, ÷ L1572. 1 dagr var] ÷ L1572. 1–2 fyrstr manna upp] upp fijrstr manna L679, firzr manna á fætr L2404. 2 heimtaþi] heimtar L1572. 2 þat sem] er L679, sem L2404. 2 tilheyrþi] tillagdi L679.

þ*at* búast t*il* h*er*f*er*þ*ar*, urþo nú m*enn* t*il* í fleyra lagi, o*c* bjuggost allfimlega. K*óngr* s*egir* a*t* þ*ei*r skuli f*ara* hljóþlega, Hróm*undr* m*ælir* v*it* skul*om* ríþa nú an*nann* veg, heldr e*n* áþr, o*c* skul*om* halda sun*nan* a*t* Svíþjóþ, o*c* q*vo*mom óv*art*, ef ské mætti a*t* sigr fengist. Þeir g*jǫ̀ra* s*em* Hróm*undr* f*yrir* sagþi; snúa þ*ei*r þá f*er*þ sin*ni* suþr fyrir Kjǫl, o*c* q*vo*ma í Svíþjóþ a*t* óvǫ̀r*om*, bren*na* þ*ei*r bæi u*m* nætr, e*n* ríþa t*il* skóga u*m* daga, sva lít*it* t*il*spyrst, þ*ar* t*il* eina nótt, a*t* þ*ei*r q*vo*mo a*t* Uppsǫ̀l*om*, v*ar* þá Hálfd*án* K*óngr* í útiskémmo me*þ* noc*k*ra hǫfþíngja, t*óc* þá Hróm*undr* þ*at* fyrst t*il* ráþs, a*t* t*ac*a fólki síno
130v strandhǫ̀gg o*c* ‖ vist*ir* í utibúr*om*, ept*ir* venjo h*er*víkíngja; Visso þá ei m*enn* h*an*s fyrri t*il*; e*n* Hálfd*án* K*óngr* v*ar* þ*ar* in*ni* f*yrir*, t*óc* þá mǫ̀*nnom* a*t* þykja betri veiþorin*n*. Hálfd*án* K*óngr* kall*ar* t*il* þ*ei*rra er úti stóþo, o*c* sp*yr* hv*orjir* v*æri* þ*ei*r m*enn* s*em* óspekt*ir* sýndo sér u*m* nætr tíma. Hróm*undr* s*egir* nafn sitt, o*c* þ*at* me*þ* a*t* Ol*afr* K*óngr* sé þar q*vo*min*n*. Hálfd*án* heit*ir* á m*enn* sína, o*c* biþr þá v*er*jast o*c* v*er*a orugg*ir*. Þeir Svíar brugþo fljótt v*it* o*c* lupo t*il* vopna, o*c* g*jǫ̀r*þo skjaldb*org* f*yrir* K*óng*i sín*om*, v*ar*þ nú þ*ar* hin h*ar*þasta orrusta o*c* m*ann*fall af N*or*þmǫ̀*nnom*, t*óc* þá Hróm*undr* a*t* þykja erfidt, a*t* sigra þ*ess*a stofom*enn*, þó f*á*i*r* v*æri*, þ*ví* þ*ei*r drápo me*þ* stoc*k*om o*c* stein*om*, þilj*om* o*c* þv*er*trjám o*c* ǫ̀llo þ*ví* er f*yrir* v*ar*þ. Þá m*ælir*

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3 þ*at*] þá L679, L2404, L1572. 3 fleyra] fijrra L679. 4 allfimlega] fimliga L1572. 4 s*egir*] baþ L2404. 4 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 4 þ*ei*r skuli] menn L2404. 5 ríþa] halda L1572. 5 nú] ÷ L679, L1572. 5 heldr] ÷ L679, L1572. 5 e*n* áþr] ÷ L679. 5 skul*om*] ÷ L679, L1572. 5 halda] ÷ L1572. 6 q*vo*mom] koma á L2404. 6 ské mætti a*t*] ÷ L679. 6 g*jǫ̀r*a] + svo L679, L2404. 8 í] sunnan ad þvj L679. 8 a*t*] ÷ L679. 8 óvǫ̀r*om*] vorom L2404. 8 þ*ei*r] þar L679, L2404. 9 skóga] skogar L679, L1572. 10 í útiskémmo] uti i skemmu L1572. 11 fyrst t*il* ráþs] rad L679, first ráþz L2404. 11 a*t*] + hann L679. 11 t*ac*a] tok L679. 11 síno] fijrst L679. 12 ept*ir* venjo h*er*víkíngja] ÷ L679, L2404. 12–13 Visso þá ei m*enn* h*an*s fyrri t*il*] vissu þá menn hans ei fyrri til L1572, ÷ L2404. 14 betri] batna L679. 14 veiþorin*n*] veidinn L679, L1572. 14 K*óngr*] ÷ L679. 14 er] sem L679. 15 stóþo] vorú L679. 15 hv*orjir*] + þeir L679, + þeir menn L2404. 15 v*æri*] værú L679, L2404, L1572. 15 þ*ei*r m*enn*] ÷ L2404, þeir L1572. 15 s*em*] ed L1572. 15 óspekt*ir*] öspeckt L679. 16 tíma] ÷ L679, L1572. 16–17 Ol*afr* K*óngr* sé þar q*vo*min*n*] þar væri kominn Olafr Kóngr L679. 17 Hálfd*án*] + kóngr L679. 17 v*er*jast] berjast L679. 18 orugg*ir*] órúggva vard þar hinn hardasti bardægi L679, örugga L1572. 18 brugþo] bregda L679, L2404, L1572. 18 fljótt] skiótt L1572. 18 lupo] hlaupa L679, L2404. 18 vopna] + sinna L679. 19 f*yrir*] ad L679. 19–20 nú þ*ar* hin h*ar*þasta orrusta o*c*] mikid L679. 20 þá] nú L2404. 21 sigra] eiga vid L679, vinna L2404, L1572. 21 þ*ess*a stofom*enn*] ÷ L2404. 21 þó f*á*i*r* v*æri*] þá L2404. 21–22 stoc*k*om o*c* stein*om*] triám oc stockom L2404. 22 þilj*om* o*c* þv*er*trjám] ÷ L2404, L1572.

Hálfd*án* t*il* Hróm*undar* nú man þér vel lika a*t* á m*ic* snýr m*annfallit*, f*yrir* þa*t*, a*t* viij br*æþr* þínir féllo f*yrir* o*ss* í fyrra vetr. Hróm*undr* mæl*ir* ei er u*m* skaþa þ*ann* a*t* fást, þ*ví* ec*k*i hrósaþi Helgi lengi ept*ir* þ*at* þ*ei*r féllo, stór*om* heiþri. Ol*afr* K*óngr* b*at* þá m*enn* sína v*el* duga. Hróm*undr* f*yrir* bauþ all*an* hávaþa, sva b*org*a*r* m*enn* yrþo lítt v*it* v*a*rir. V*o*ro þá ǫll þau tré te*cinn* o*c* f*orvo*ruþ s*em* þ*ei*r Svía*r* útkǫstuþu, t*óco* þá a*t* þrjóta v*er*jor o*c* skeyti, t*óco* þá N*or*þm*enn* a*t* hǫggva stór*om*, þ*ar* t*il* a*t* all*ir* vóro falln*ir*, nema Hálfd*án* ein*n*. v*ar*þist h*ann* þá af stærsto príþi m*eþ* betsta drengskap, sva engin*n* q*vo*m á h*a*m eino hǫggi. J þ*ess*o bili sjá n*or*þm*enn*, a*t* m*aþr* q*vo*m hlaupandi or b*orgin*n*i* t*il* skémmun*nar*, m*eþ* náttklæþi K*óng*sins. Þ*ei*r segja Hróm*undi* e*n* h*ann* biþr þá draga s*em* í hlé; m*aþr* þ*ess*i ‖ 131r ljóp a*t* dyrun*om*, o*c* sá vígs u*m* m*er*ki, o*c* þóktist m*annavís* v*er*þa; h*ann* sn*a*rast fljótt v*it* o*c* vill t*il* b*a*ca o*c* snýr heim aptor. Þetta sj*er* Hróm*undr* o*c* leypr ept*ir* h*onom* o*c* hǫggr t*il* h*an*s, hǫgg*it* q*vo*m á apt*an* v*er*þ*an* spjald hriggin*n* o*c* sneid ofan lend*arnar* o*c* þjóin*n*, sva a*t* þau féllo á j*ǫr*þina, féll h*ann* þá o*c* líka; t*óc* þá Hróm*undr* a*t* sækja í meirsta ákafa a*t* Hálfd*án* e*n* hv*o*rt þ*at* hǫgg s*em* Hróm*undr* hjó t*il* K*óng*s, þat q*vo*m flatt á h*er*klæþi K*óng*s, e*n* h*ann* fe*ck* ec*k*ert sár. Þetta sj*er* Hróm*undr* a*t* sva vill lengi g*an*ga, kast*ar* h*ann* þá Mistilteini, e*n* grípr aptr kylfo sína, o*c* lemr m*eþ* hen*n*i; Hálfd*án* v*ar*þist v*el* o*c* ágjætlega e*n* u*m* stund, þ*ar* t*il* a*t* h*ann* mæþdist, skildi

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23 á m*ic* snýr m*annfallit*] mannfallinu snijr á mig L679. 24 þ*at*] þvj L679. 24 í] ÷ L1572. 25 er] + eg L679. 25 lengi] laungum sigri L679, L2404. 26 ept*ir* þ*at* þ*ei*r féllo] ÷ L2404. 26 stór*om* heiþri] ÷ L679, L2404. 26 m*enn* sína] sijna menn L679. 27 f*yrir* bauþ] bannaþi L2404. 27–28 yrþo lítt v*it* v*a*rir] irdi eij varir vid L679. 28 þau] ÷ L679, L2404. 28 tré] + Svija L2404. 28 f*orvo*ruþ] geimd L1572. 28 Svía*r*] ÷ L2404. 29–30 t*óco* þá N*or*þm*enn* a*t* hǫggva stór*om*] Norþmenn sókto hart fram L2404. 30 a*t*] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 falln*ir*] farnir L2404. 31 af] ÷ L2404. 31 st*æ*rsto príþi m*eþ*] ÷ L679, allfrækilega L2404. 31 betsta] mesta L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 31 drengskap] ÷ L2404. 32 sjá n*or*þm*enn*, a*t*] ÷ L679. 32 m*aþr* q*vo*m] kom eirn madr L679. 33 b*orgin*n*i* t*il* ském*mun*n*ar*] höllinni L2404. 33 náttklæþi] náttfelld L679. 33 K*óng*sins] kongs L2404. 34 s*em*] sig L679, L2404, L1572. 35 dyrun*om*] veggnum L679. 35 o*c*] ÷ L2404. 36 o*c* snýr heim aptor] ÷ L679. 37 leypr ept*ir* h*onom* o*c*] ÷ L679. 38 á] fyrir L1572. 38 apt*an* v*er*þ*an* spjald] ÷ L2404. 38–39 o*c* þjóin*n*, sva a*t* þau] svo þjófinn L679. 39 j*ǫr*þina] jórd L679. 39 o*c* líka] daudr L679. 40 í meirsta ákafa] ÷ L679, í ákafa L1572. 40 Hálfd*án*] + kongi i mesta ákafa L679. 41 K*óng*s] Halfdanar L679. 41 þat] ÷ L1572. 41 K*óng*s] hans L679, L2404. 42 a*t* sva vill lengi g*an*ga] og L2404. 42 h*ann* þá] ÷ L2404. 43 e*n*] oc L2404. 43 aptr] ÷ L2404. 44 v*el* o*c* ágjætlega] ágjæta vel L679.

Hrómundr ei fyrr vit Kóng en hann hafþi lamit í sundr í honom ǫll beinin, lauk sva Hálfdán æfi sinni meþ storri hreysti. Hrómundr segir hann þann fræknasta mann verit hafa, oc óvinnanlegan, hefþi hann í rúmri hersfylkíngo staþit.

XXI kapituli

Eptir þat at Hálfdán var dauþr, taca þeir hann af reckjonni í hvorri hann varist hafþi, oc veita honom Konúnglega umbúþ, oc settost niþr at taca hressíng, var þá vaknat þat liþ sem í borginni var, fengo þeir þá at vita, at Kóngr var fallinn, urþo þá Svíar ráþalusir, sem vant er /: at dauþr er jafnan hǫfuþlaus her :/[39] gengo þeir þá Hrómundr oc menn hans í borgina, oc rænto þeim gripom oc gjǫrfilegom lutom er þeir vildo, oc höfþo mestar mætr á, en mǫnnom gáfo þeir friþ oc frelsi; tóco þeir þar ofrgnægþ fjár á fararskjóta sína, oc halda sva heim aptr í Hálogaland meþ heiþri oc vyrþíngo
131v || oc sjálfsögþom sigri; setjast nú menn um kyrt; tecor þá Olafr Kóngr at draga til faung, oc efna til veitslo, lætr hann þá saman kalla Múga oc margmenni; bændr oc hǫfþíngja, oc hvorjo nafni sem nefndir voro; lét þá Hrómundr sækja Greip Fǫþr sinn, oc alla sína náúnga oc vini; lét þá Svanhvít segja Hrómundi at láta sækja

45 lamit í sundr] brotid L679, lamat L2404. 45 ǫll] hvórt L679, L2404. 46 beinin] bein L679, L2404. 46 æfi] hreysti L679. 46 storri hreysti] miklum dreing skap L679. 47 þann] hinn L679. 47 fræknasta] hraustasta L1572. 48 staþit] verid L679. 1 at] ÷ L679. 1 þeir] menn L679. 2 varist hafþi] vardist L679, lagst hafdi L1572. 2–3 oc settost niþr at taca hressíng] ÷ L2404. 3 þat liþ] lid þad L679. 3 sem] er L679, L1572. 4 þá] nú L2404. 5 sem vant er] ÷ L2404. 5 /: at dauþr er jafnan hǫfuþlaus her :/] ÷ L2404, því daud er hófudlaus her L1572. 5 þeir] ÷ L679. 6 menn hans] hans menn L679. 6 rænto] ÷ L2404. 6 þeim] ÷ L2404, þar L1572. 6–7 gripom oc gjǫrfilegom] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 7 lutom] því L2404, L1572. 7 er þeir vildo] sem ágætaz var af gersemom L2404. 7 oc höfþo mestar mætr á] ÷ L2404, L1572. 7–8 mǫnnom gáfo þeir friþ oc frelsi] gáfo mönnum griþ L2404. 8 tóco þeir þar ofrgnægþ fjár] ÷ L2404. 8 á] og L679, ÷ L2404, L1572. 8–9 fararskjóta sína] ÷ L2404, L1572. 9 oc halda sva] heldo þeir síþan L2404, halda sidan L1572. 9 í Hálogaland] til Hálogalandz L2404. 9 meþ heiþri oc vyrþíngo] ÷ L2404. 10 oc sjálfsögþom sigri] ÷ L2404, L1572. 10 menn] ÷ L1572. 11 oc efna] ÷ L679. 11 þá] ÷ L1572. 11–12 saman kalla] kalla saman L679. 12 bændr oc hǫfþíngja] ÷ L1572. 12–13 oc hvorjo nafni sem nefndir voro] ÷ L2404, L1572. 13 þá] ÷ L1572. 14 oc vini] ÷ L1572. 14 lét þá Svanhvít segja Hrómundi at] Svanhvit oc Rómund L2404. 14 láta] ÷ L679, let oc L2404.

39. The entire phrase is in parenthesis in B11109.

Hagal oc Haddýsi, v*ar* þá sendt ept*ir* þ*ei*m, v*ar* þ*at* jafn sn*art* a*t* þau q*v*omo, hafþi Hróm*undr* lát*it* h*an*dt*a*ca Blind, oc me*þ* sér flytja, n*ær* h*ann* heim fe*r*þaþist or Svíþjóþ; v*ar*þ þ*at* a*t* mála lyktum ept*ir* vilja Hagals oc kono h*an*s, a*t* Bl*indr* v*ar* festr á gálga, oc lét þ*ar* líf sitt, ept*ir* ve*r*þugleik*om*, oc drauma u*m*róti; v*ar*þ þ*at* a*t* mál t*a*ci: a*t* e*ck*i skyldi drauma heill meþ heimam*ǫ*nnom, oc f*or* sva me*þ* Hálfd*án* oc Bl*indi* a*t* K*óng*i v*ar* þenkt, e*n* Bl*indr* hreppti, lykt*ar* sva hér frá h*on*om a*t* segja, e*n* h*an*s rétta nafn v*ar*, a*t* h*ann* hi*et* Baniss, e*n* Blindr v*ar* h*ann* kallaþr f*yrir* þá skuld, a*t* h*ann* v*ar*þ blindaþr af K*óng*i me*þ* útþýþíngo drauma sin*n*a, sva oc líka me*þ* ofsjón*om* oc brǫgþ*om* þ*ei*rra Hagals oc Haddýs*ar*; er hér nú frá a*t* víkja oc t*il* hins er frá v*ar* h*orfit*, a*t* m*enn* settost t*il* dry*ck*jo oc vyrþuglegr*ar* v*ei*tslo, me*þ* hv*or*skyns gleþi oc ve*r*ald*ar* skémton, v*or*o þ*ar* þau Hagall oc Haþd*ýs* í stær*s*to vyrþíngo; skip*a*þi Ol*afr* K*óng*r an*n*ann be*ck* oc Hróm*undr* n*ær*st h*on*om, oc sva þ*ei*r helsto hǫfþíngj*ar*, e*n* hin*n* an*n*an*n* sat Gr*eipr* oc Hagall oc sva vin*ir* Greips h*on*om ásamt; all*ar* Frúr oc Ýngismey*ar* sáto á stól*om*, s*em* gyllt*ir* || oc sylfraþ*ir* 132r
v*or*o; e*n* í miþri v*ei*tslon*n*i qvaþdi Hróm*undr* sér hljóþs, oc b*at* Ol*af* K*óng* a*t* staþfesta giptomál sítt v*it* Svanhv*ít* me*þ* fullkomno Jáyrþi oc h*an*dsǫl*om*. Stóþ þá Ol*afr* K*óng*r upp, oc h*an*dsal*a*þi Ektamál oc leyfi t*il* h*an*da Hróm*undar* t*il* systr sin*nar* Svanh*vítar* ept*ir* l*an*dsins

15–16 v*ar* þá sendt ept*ir* þ*ei*m, v*ar* þ*at* jafn sn*art* a*t* þau q*v*omo] ÷ L2404. 16 flytja] flutt L2404. 17 n*ær* h*ann* heim fe*r*þaþist] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 17 or Svíþjóþ] ÷ L679, L2404. 17 v*ar*þ] var L679. 17 ept*ir*] af L679. 18 kono h*an*s] Haddjsar L679, L2404. 18 lét] + hann L679, L2404, L1572. 19 ept*ir* ve*r*þugleik*om*, oc drauma u*m*róti] ÷ L2404. 20 e*ck*i] efla L679. 21 a*t* K*óng*i v*ar* þenkt, e*n* Bl*indr* hreppti] ÷ L1572. 21–22 sva hér] hier svo L679, L2404, L1572. 22 frá] af L1572. 22 a*t* h*ann* hi*et*] ÷ L679, at heita L2404. 22 Baniss] Bannvijs L679. 23 v*ar*þ] var L679, L1572. 25 er hér] enn hier er L679, ÷ L2404. 25–26 nú frá a*t* víkja oc t*il* hins er] víkr nú til L2404. 26 frá] fijrr L679, ÷ L2404. 26 v*ar*] + frá L679, ÷ L2404. 26 h*orfit*] vekid L679, ÷ L2404. 26 a*t* m*enn* settost] ÷ L2404. 26 t*il*] undir L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 26 dry*ck*jo oc] ÷ L2404. 26 vyrþugl*egrar*] virduglega L679, L1572, ÷ L2404. 27 v*ei*tslo] verslunar L2404. 27 me*þ* hv*or*skyns gleþi oc] oc var hon haldin med stæþsto rausn oc hverkyns L2404, ÷ L1572. 27 ve*r*ald*ar*] ÷ L679, L1572. 27 skémton] ÷ L1572. 27 þ*ar*] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 28 Haþd*ýs*] + þar L1572. 29 n*ær*st] næstr L1572. 30 hin*n*] ÷ L2404. 30 sat] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 Gr*eipr* oc Hagall] Hagall og Greipr L679. 30 sva] ÷ L679, L2404. 30 Greips] hans L679. 30 h*onom* ásamt] og heima menn L679, ÷ L1572. 31 all*ar* Frúr oc Ýngismey*ar* sáto] sáto allar frúr oc Jngismeyar L2404, allar meiar og frúr sátu L1572. 31 stól*om*, s*em* gyllt*ir*] forgilltom stólom L2404. 31–32 sylfraþ*ir* v*or*o] silfr búnum L679, L2404. 32 miþri v*ei*tslon*n*i] miþia veitslo L2404. 33 staþfesta] festa L679. 33 v*it*] med L2404.

venjo oc lǫgom. Kóngr gaf Hrómundi hálfan part síns ríkis, en Greipi Fǫðr hans gaf hann Hersirs nafn oc léni. Hrómundr gaf Hagali karli oc kono hans Umsjónar ráþ náqvæmosto ráþagjǫrþar í því sem meirst þurfti, oc vit sitt egit borþ sitja þaþan af, sva lengi sem lifþo. Stóþ sva þessi veitsla meþ stærsta sóma, oc endaþi meþ friþi oc góþom rólegheitom, oc voro allir útleystir meþ vyrþíng oc góþom gjǫfom; tócost bráþt meþ Hrómundi oc Svanhvít góþar ástir, ólo þau bæþi syni oc dætr ⟨þeirra Synir Björnólfr oc Hróálfr⟩[40] oc ero hér þeirra nǫfn ei ritot, sýnist sva sem at þau sum mani í barnæsko dáit hafa, en af sumom qvomo micil menni sem í ǫþrom Sǫgom fráskýrir. Lúkom vær sva þessari Sǫgo af Hrómundi Greipssyni. Hafi sá góþa þǫkk sem las, en heiþr sem hlýþdo, en hann er skrifaþi lof oc vinfengi góþra manna; en allir sameginlega tímanlega oc eilífa gleþi fyrir utan enda.

36 Kóngr] Olafur kongr L679. 37 oc léni] ÷ L679. 38 karli] ÷ L679. 38 ráþagjǫrþar] ÷ L679. 39 meirst] + vid L679. 39 þaþan af] ÷ L679. 39 sem] + þau L2404. 40 lifþo] þijrfti L679. 40 Stóþ sva þessi veitsla meþ stærsta sóma] ÷ L1572. 40 oc] ad L1572. 40 endaþi] endadist L679, L2404, endadri veitslunni L1572. 40–41 meþ friþi oc góþom] ÷ L1572. 41 rólegheitom] fagnaþi L2404, ÷ L1572. 41 oc] ÷ L1572. 41 meþ vyrþíng oc góþom] godum og virduglegum L679, virþolegom L2404, med godum L1572. 42 gjǫfom] + og L679. 42 tócost] + nú L679. 42 bráþt] + og godar astir L679. 42 meþ] + þeim L679. 42 góþar ástir] ÷ L679. 42–43 ólo þau] þau átto L2404. 43 syni] sono L2404. 43 ⟨þeirra Synir Björnólfr oc Hróálfr⟩] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 43 oc ero] erú L679, þo L2404. 44 hér þeirra nǫfn] þeira nófn hier L679, L1572, hér sé frá atgiörþom þeira L2404. 44 ei] ÷ L2404. 44 ritot] greind L679. 44 sýnist sva sem] ÷ L2404. 44 at] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572. 44 þau] ÷ L2404, L1572. 44 sum mani] hafi sum L679, ÷ L2404, sum af þeim muni L1572. 44–45 í barnæsko dáit] ÷ L2404. 45 hafa] ÷ L679, L2404. 45 en af sumom qvomo] oc voru þau in mestu L2404. 45–46 sem í ǫþrom Sǫgom fráskýrir] oc storar ættir frá þeim komnar þeirra sijnir vóru þeir Biörnólfur oc Hróaldr, Biörnólfr var faþir Arnar faþir Ingólfs landnámamanns, enn son Hrólálfs var Harþmar faþir Hiörleifs er Hiörleifs höfþi er vit kendur L2404. 46 Lúkom] oc lýcor hér L2404. 46 vær sva þessari] ÷ L2404. 46 af Hrómundi Greipssyni] Hrómundar Greipssonar L2404. 47–49 Hafi sá góþa þǫkk sem las, en heiþr sem hlýþdo, en hann er skrifaþi lof oc vinfengi góþra manna; en allir sameginlega tímanlega oc eilífa gleþi fyrir utan enda] ÷ L679, L2404, L1572.

40. An asterisk follows the word ‘dættur’ in B11109 and it refers to the footnote in the manuscript, which contains the addition ‘þeirra synir Bjórnólfr oc Hróálfr’. In L1572, the asterisk appears after ‘ritud’ and the footnote reads ‘al: synir þeira Biörnólfr og Hróalfr’.

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